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CECILE O'RAHILLY

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IRELAND AND WALES

THEIR HISTORICAL AND LITERARY RELATIONS

BY

CECILE O'RAHILLY, M. A.
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PREFACE

The linguistic affinity of the Celtic-speaking inhabitants of Ireland and Wales is nowadays a recognised fact. But the recognition of this kinship between Irish and Welsh is, as Professor MacNeill recently pointed out, wholly a modern development. At some remote period when the differences of dialect in their Celtic speech were slight, Goidels and Brythons must have had some knowledge of their common ancestry. But no trace of such knowledge survives in the earliest traditions of either Irish or Welsh. Throughout their history, despite geographical proximity and constant intercourse, despite their community of myth and legend and the similarity of their early social and legal organisation, the Celts of Ireland and the Celts of Britain never acknowledged any kinship with each other. They trace their descent in long and elaborate genealogies from different mythical ancestors by lines absolutely distinct. Not until the 17th century were these genealogies dismissed as fabulous and Irish and Welsh proved to be branches of a common stock, the Celtic people of the Continent.

In the work of Edward Lhuyd, the "father of Celtic philology," we see the first results of this re-discovery of the affinities of Irish and Welsh. In 1707 Lhuyd published his *Archaeologia Britannica* in which he gave, as the results of travels and researches in the Celtic-speaking countries, elaborate comparative etymologies of the Celtic languages, with Welsh, Irish, Cornish and Breton grammars and dictionaries. The epoch-making character of Lhuyd's work will be realised if we bear in mind the fact that the modern science of language had not then been born. As a Welshman who travelled in Ireland, collected Irish manuscripts and diligently studied the Irish language, Lhuyd stands unique.

Since Lhuyd's day we have travelled far. The science of comparative philology has arisen. The relations of the Celtic

languages to one another and to other Aryan languages have been placed on a sound scientific basis. The archaeology, history and literature of the Celtic peoples have been studied. In particular the two most important Celtic dialects, Welsh and Irish, have received the attention of Celtic scholars. The Irish literary revival of the last century, the establishment of Welsh-teaching Sunday schools and the revival of the Eisteddfod in Wales, the national movement in Ireland and its echo in Welsh political life, even the Pan-Celticism of recent times, have all helped to re-awaken in the Irish and Welsh the "Celtic conscionsness," a realisation of their kinship to each other as Celtic-speaking peoples.

Within the last few years this feeling of kinship has been further stimulated by the spread of university education in both countries and by the publication of such works as Prof. T. Gwynn Jones's *Inverddon* and his translations from Irish poetry into Welsh and Prof. T. Ó Donnchadha's translations from Welsh poetry into Irish. The mutual study of the two kindred languages, Welsh and Irish, has naturally led to an increased mutual interest among the Welsh and Irish peoples. In Ireland much has already been accomplished in furthering the study of the Welsh language by Irish students. There is a chair of Welsh in University College, Dublin, and another in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Doubtless in due course of time separate chairs and lectureships will be established in the other colleges of the National University of Ireland, for in all the constituent colleges of the University Welsh has a status equal to that of any Continental language and it is an essential subject of study for a degree in Celtic Studies. In the reciprocal study of Irish Wales, however, lags behind as yet. There is no chair of Irish in any of the four colleges of the Welsh University, while the amount of Irish required for the Honours Welsh degree is limited to an elementary knowledge of Old-Irish phonology.

It is a matter of no small importance both to Wales and to Ireland that this modern development of a feeling of kinship should be fostered in both countries. The study of each other's language and literature in both countries alike will help Ireland in the task of conserving her language, will guarantee to Welsh its present proud position among the

Celtic languages. We have reached the most critical period in the history of the Irish language; our present task is to preserve what still remains of the language and to guard against the further spread of English. The development of Irish has been retarded for centuries; we must develop and expand the language to meet our modern needs. Welsh, alone among the Celtic languages to-day, has the vigourous growth and development of a living cultivated language. With wide dialectal differences in the spoken tongue, it has achieved a standard literary language, intelligible in every part of the Principality. Hitherto it has proved amazingly tenacious and stubborn in its resistance to English, the common enemy of both the Welsh and Irish languages. In a study of living Welsh, then, and in a study of the means by which that language has survived centuries of English rule, Ireland will find help in the solution of perhaps the most pressing of all the problems that confront her to-day, the language question.

To serious students of Welsh, on the other hand, the importance of the Irish language and literature can hardly be over-emphasised. Strachan, who was perhaps unrivalled in his acquaintance with the older languages of both countries, asserted that "without a knowledge of Irish, early Welsh grammar is rather like a book sealed with seven seals." To supplement the scanty remains of Old-Welsh literature and to appreciate the influence of Irish upon their own most cherished literary possession, the *Mabinogion*, Welshmen must have some acquaintance with the literature of Ireland.

This book has been written in the hope of interesting both Irish and Welsh in our common Celtic languages and of increasing that feeling of kinship which has re-awakened in modern times. It is an attempt to present in chronological form the main features of the relations which existed from earliest times between the Celtic-speaking inhabitants of Ireland and the Celtic-speaking inhabitants of Wales, and to estimate, as accurately as is possible at the present stage of Celtic research, the effects of that intercourse in both Wales and Ireland. As a compilation of theories and conclusions drawn from various and scattered authorities, it is hoped that the book will be of use for reference to students of the Welsh and Irish languages and literatures.

I have incorporated in the present work an essay on *The Relations between Ireland and Wales from 1055 to 1200 A. D.* for which I was awarded first prize at the National Eisteddfod of Wales held at Barry, August 1920.

I wish to thank the trustees of the Thomas Ellis Memorial Fund, University of Wales, for a grant awarded to me to assist in the publication of this work.

Dymunaf gydnabod yn gynnes y cynhorthwy a gefais gan fy mrawd, yr Athro T. F. O'Rahilly, Coleg y Drindod, Dulyn, a'm cynghorodd ym mhob anhawster; gan Syr J. Morris Jones a'r Athro Ifor Williams yn eu darlithiau yng Ngholeg y Gogledd, 1916—1918; gan y Parch. T. Shankland, Bangor, a oedd bob amser yn barod i'm rhoi ar y ffordd iawn yn fy ymchwiliadau; gan yr Athro T. Gwynn Jones, Aberystwyth, a fu mor garedig â darllen y llyfr a rhoi ei farn arno. Ac yn arbennig dymunaf ddatgan fy niolch i'r hwn a dlysgodd i mi yr iaith Gymraeg gyntaf erioed, yr Athro J. Lloyd Jones, Dulyn: *Disgybl wyf, efe a'm dysgawdd.*

C. O'R.

I. GOIDELS AND BRYTHONS.

POINT AT ISSUE

Before any attempt can be made to discuss the historical relations of Ireland and Wales, it will be necessary to come to some decision on a point which has hitherto been a source of dispute among Celtic scholars, namely the prehistoric relations of the Goidels of Ireland and the Brythons of Britain.

The languages of these two peoples, the Goidels and the Brythons, belong to two distinct divisions of the Celtic branch of the Aryan family, the Q-division and the P-division respectively. It is now generally believed that the separation of these two divisions took place at an early period upon the Continent.[1] The Goidelic-speaking Celts are commonly supposed to have been the earlier Celtic immigrants to the British Isles, and it is an article of faith with some scholars that this Goidelic wave of immigration passed through Britain on its way to Ireland. On the other hand, some scholars maintain that neither in the time of Pytheas, nor even in that of Caesar, were there any Goidels in Britain; that those whose presence is attested in West Britain in the early centuries of the Christian era were Goidelic invaders from Ireland. The question, therefore, to be decided is: whether the Goidelic immigrants, coming from the Continent in prehistoric times, landed in Britain whence they were eventually driven westwards to Ireland, or whether they came direct from the Continent to Ireland. This in turn involves another question: if not across Britain, by what route did the Goidels come from the Continent to Ireland?

ETHNOLOGY OF ANCIENT BRITAIN

It will be well to give here a short account of the ethnology of the ancient Britain to which the Celtic invaders came.[2]

[1] Rhys in the second edition of his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* (pp. 17, 35) maintained that the Goidelic and Brythonic dialects had been evolved within the British Isles, but in later works he discarded this view.

[2] The following account is based mainly on a summary of the results of recent researches given by T. Rice Holmes in his *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, Oxford, 1907, pt. II, pp. 375—455.

Palaeolithic man is represented only in South-eastern Britain and not at all in Ireland. The Neolithic population (Long Barrows) were not homogeneous, but on the whole present a uniform type. They are generally assigned to the so-called Iberian stock, but Dr. Rice Holmes, having considered all the arguments brought forward in favour of this view, decides that "there is not sufficient evidence for referring the Long Barrow people to the Iberian rather than to some other branch of the Mediterranean stock."[1] These Neolithic inhabitants of Britain were Non-Aryans. In the late Neolithic and early Bronze Age appear the brachycephalic peoples of the Round Barrows. On one point, at least, we can be certain: these round-skulled peoples of the early Bronze Age were not the invaders who introduced the Celtic languages. The British Bronze Age began, at the latest, between 1400 and 1200 B. C. Some archæologists place it earlier; none assign its beginning to a later period. But there is no evidence that the Celts had appeared in Gaul at this date.[2] Dr. Rice Holmes regards these brachycephalic immigrants as coming from various directions, "some probably from Gaul, some from the Low Countries and the valley of the Rhine, and others . . . from Denmark or Danish islands and probably from the Scandinavian peninsula."[3]

Dr. Rice Holmes would assign the first Celtic invaders to the Bronze Age. "The first Celtic invaders were Goidels who certainly reached Ireland in the Bronze Age and who may be supposed to have settled in Britain also before the time of

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 401.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 432—433. "M. Salomon Reinach has argued that a Celtic-speaking people appeared in North-western Gaul in the ninth century — the earliest date which has ever been proposed by any scholar; but his view is based on the mere conjecture that Kassiteros, the Greek word for tin, which occurs in Homer, is of Celtic derivation. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, indeed, who adopts the conjecture, (*Les Celtes*, pp. 19—20) supposes that the Celts actually landed in Britain as early as the ninth century B. C.; but even if we accept his chronology, we are confronted with the fact that the very earliest date which has been assigned on historical and linguistic grounds for the first Celtic invasion is four or five centuries later than the latest, ten or eleven centuries later than the earliest date which has been assigned by archæologists for the commencement of the Bronze Age in Britain (p. 433)."

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 455.

Pytheas."[1] Dr. Rice Holmes places the arrival of the Brythonic immigrants at the beginning of the Iron Age, and considers it probable that the knowledge of iron was introduced by these invaders. "They were succeeded," he says, "by the Belgae, who, like them, came in successive hordes, the first probably in the 3rd century B. C."[2] This theory of two successive Brythonic invasions, following the earlier Goidelic occupation, was accepted by Sir John Rhys in the last edition of his *Celtic Britain* (1904, p. 4), though previously he had held that there were in all but two Celtic invasions, the Goidelic and the later Brythonic invasion of the Belgae.

Owing to the influence of Rhys and Zimmer, it is generally held that the first Celtic invaders of Britain, (the Goidels according to Rhys, the Brythons according to Zimmer), came in contact with a non-Aryan aboriginal population who were the representatives of the neolithic inhabitants and who are to be identified with the Picts of Romano-British history. The "Pictish Question" *i. e.* the question of the linguistic and ethnological affinities of the Picts, is one of which various solutions have been offered by various scholars.[3] Several irreconcilable hypotheses have been formed, two of which have found wide currency. The first, formulated by Rhys and accepted by Zimmer, is that the Picts were non-Aryans whose language was overlaid by loans from Welsh and Irish. The second hypothesis, supported by Whitley Stokes, Windisch and MacBain, is that the Picts

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 455. It is not at all "certain" that the Goidels reached Ireland as early as the Bronze Age. Dr. Macalister believes that the Goidels *i. e.* the immigrants who introduced the Celtic language into Ireland, came direct from the Continent to Ireland at the beginning of the Iron Age, and thinks that it will ultimately be proved that, throughout Europe, the Celtic languages and the knowledge of the metallurgy of iron proceeded, so to speak, hand in hand, that the same people who introduced the one introduced the other. Prof. Eoin MacNeill (*An Irish Historical Tract dated A. D. 721*, Proc. R. I. A. XXVIII, Sect. C. p. 125) considers that "it has neither been proved nor shown probable that any Celtic people had settled in Britain or Ireland before the Celts were already far advanced in the use of iron ... the migrations to Ireland came in natural sequence from the occupation of the Atlantic seaboard by the Celts and may not have begun earlier than the fifth century B. C."

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 456.

[3] For a summary of these see Rice Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 409—424. Cp. also W. Stokes, *Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals*, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1888—1890; J. Rhys, *Welsh People*, pp. 36—74.

were Celts "but more nearly allied to the Cymry than to the Gael."[1] Rhys bases his hypothesis on several arguments, notably that of the survival of matriarchy among the Picts and among those Celts who came early into contact with them. Dr. Rice Holmes suggests, however, that the Picts were "Celts mixed with aborigines who practised this institution of matriarchy, and consequently that if it prevailed among the Picts, its prevalence does not prove that they were in any special sense representatives of the aborigines or that they spoke a non-Aryan language."[2] The same argument applies with equal force to the custom of tattooing which, it is inferred from the statements of classical writers, was common among the Picts. Rhys, though he failed in an attempt to prove that the Pictish language was related to Basque, continued to maintain that it was a non-Aryan language overloaded with loanwords from Goidelic and Brythonic.[3] Dr. Whitley Stokes, however, having examined the Pictish occurring in various annals and chronicles and in place-names in Ptolemy's Geography, concludes: "The list of names and other words contains much that is obscure, but on the whole it shows that Pictish, so far as regards its vocabulary, is an Indo-European and especially Celtic speech. Its phonetics, so far as we can ascertain them, resemble those of Welsh rather than of Irish."[4]

Thus the Picts of Romano-British history were a people among whom non-Aryan customs and institutions survived but who spoke a language definitely Celtic, in vocabulary at least.[5] They were a mixed people, "a medley of tribes among whom

[1] Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1888—1890, p. 392.

[2] Rice Holmes, *op. cit.* p. 415.

[3] *Welsh People* (1900) pp. 15—16.

[4] Trans. Phil. Soc. 1888—1890, p. 417.

[5] It will be noted that Stokes's conclusion as regards the Pictish vocabulary does not militate in any sense against the conclusions arrived at by Sir J. Morris Jones (Appendix to *Welsh People*), namely that the syntax of Welsh and Irish differs in some important respects from that of any other Aryan language, and that this non-Aryan idiom in speech of Aryan vocabulary is due to contact with a non-Aryan-speaking population. As we have seen, Dr. Rice Holmes suggests that many of the old non-Aryan customs were preserved among the "medley of tribes" in Pictland, and that "in certain remote parts of the extensive territory occupied by the Picts, a non-Aryan language survived into the Christian era, just as in a remote part of France a non-Aryan language survives at this day." (p. 423)

Celts were, as everywhere, predominant, but who probably included a greater proportion of the descendants of the Neolithic and other pre-Aryan peoples than any other British group."[1] Accepting Stokes's view, we may further conclude that these "predominating Celts" belonged to the Brythonic group, probably to the earlier invasion of Brythonic Celts.[2]

Thus, combining to form the inhabitants of Britain at the time of Caesar's invasion, we get Neolithic non-Aryans plus a brachycephalic people coming from Gaul, Scandinavia and the Rhine valley (plus Celtic Goidelic invaders) plus Celtic Brythonic invaders plus Belgic Celtic Brythonic invaders. The weak link in the chain is that which Rice Holmes regards as "probable" and which is here put in brackets, viz. the Goidelic invasion of Britain. This, the question on which competent Celtic scholars have differed widely among themselves, brings us back to the point whence we started. Did the Goidels reach Ireland direct from the Continent, or did they first land in Britain, to be driven westward at a later period by a wave of Brythonic immigration?

THEORY OF IMMIGRATION OF GOIDELS VIA BRITAIN.

Sir John Rhys, though he seems to have modified his views on minor points somewhat erratically, held consistently to the theory he put forward in his *Celtic Britain* (1884). He maintained that the Goidel preceded the Brython in the occupation of Britain.

Rhys assumed two waves of Celtic immigration to Britain, the first, dating from the 5th or 6th century before Christ, of Goidelic or Q-Celts who conquered the country from the aboriginal non-Aryan inhabitants, the second, in the 2nd or 3rd century before Christ, of Brythonic or P-Celts who in their turn overcame the Goidels, or rather the mixed population resulting from the assimilation of the pre-Aryan inhabitants by the Goidels. These Goidelised peoples were gradually driven

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 456.

[2] Dr. Rice Holmes suspends judgment on the question of the linguistic affinities of these Celto-Picts, but he seems to lean towards Stokes's view, *op. cit.* p. 422.

westwards by the advancing Brythonic tide. For the most part they crossed to Ireland (if they had not previously begun to do so), but in part they settled in the mountainous regions of Wales, both in the district later known as Gwynedd and in the South-western portion including Pembrokeshire and the district along the Severn mouth. The Brythonic conquest extended to what is now Mid-Wales as far as Cardigan Bay, and was represented by the tribe of the Ordovices. The Goidelic peoples to the North and South of this Brythonic wedge "were never systematically displaced," and the Goidelic language "maintained a precarious hold upon certain parts of Wales until the eve of the Danish invasions."[1] A certain amount of trade and peaceful colonisation of certain districts of Wales by the Goidels of Ireland took place in the Roman and post-Roman period, but never to any great extent owing to the presence of the Roman garrisons in Wales. By such trade and colonisation we are to explain "the interesting facts... that some of the Goidels of South Wales were known by the same tribal name (kin of Letan) as the Ui Liathain, an Irish tribe settled between Cork and Lismore, and that in the eighth century Tewdos ap Rhain, king of Dyfed, was claimed by the Deisi of our county Waterford as a descendant of one of their chieftains, Eochaid Allmuir, whose surname points him out as one who had sought his fortune beyond the sea."[2] By means of this theory of a settled prehistoric Goidelic population, reinforced to some extent by later Goidelic invaders and settlers from Ireland, are to be explained the presence on Welsh and Cornish soil of Goidelic inscriptions of the 5th—7th centuries, the numerous Goidelic loanwords in the Welsh language, the many place-names in Wales which point to the habitation of Q-Celts rather than of P-Celts, and the presence in Welsh literature, notably in the Mabinogion, of legendary lore of unmistakably Irish origin.

Such, in outline, is the popular theory concerning the early relations of Goidel and Brython. It is that put forward in every school-book. Rhys was not the originator of this theory, but

[1] Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 121. The 2nd edition was published in 1912, doubtless before Zimmer's posthumous work had been published, since it contains no reference to his latest arguments.

[2] Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 97.

it was he who popularised it. As early as 1707 Edward Lhuyd, the great forerunner of Zeuss, put forward a similar hypothesis.[1] In 1851, the Rev. Basil Jones, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, arguing from the presence of numerous place-names of Goidelic flavour in North Wales, and the various pseudo-historical references to occupations of Wales by the *Gwyddelod* in Welsh manuscripts, arrived at the conclusion that these could be explained only by the theory that the Goidels had inhabited North Wales previous to the arrival of the Brythons and had left their impression on the local topography and in manuscript and local tradition.[2] In recent years, Rhys was supported in this theory by another distinguished Celtic scholar, D'Arbois de Jubainville.[3]

THEORY OF DIRECT IMMIGRATION OF GOIDELS TO IRELAND.

On the other hand some leading Celtic scholars maintain that the Goidels did *not* pass through Britain on their way from the Continent to Ireland.

The most strenuous upholder of this theory was Dr. Heinrich Zimmer who, iconoclast though he often was, has done more than any other Celtic scholar "to lay the foundations of our knowledge by constructive criticism and research."[4] In the

[1] *Archaeologia Britannica*, Welsh Preface, At y Kymry. "Lhuyd," says Meyer (*Trans. Cymm.* 1895—1896), "was in this matter led by philological speculations. But he took philology for a guide in an age when the science of language had not yet been born and he was bound to be misled. In the light of more modern research his array of linguistic facts and materials, and the conclusions derived therefrom, alike count for nothing." Lhuyd observed and collected a large number of cognate words in Welsh and Gaelic, and from them concluded that Irish and Welsh had been originally one and the same people, speaking the same language, first on the Continent and then in Britain. To account for the differences between Irish and Welsh vocabulary, he assumed that the Brythons who had passed over to Ireland met there a non-Celtic race, the "Scots," whom they assimilated in the course of time, enriching their own Brythonic language by a large number of "Scottish" words and thus differentiating it from that of the Brythons of Britain.

[2] *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd.*

[3] *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, II; *Les Celtes* etc. pp. 17 ff. (1904). But in a notice of Meyer's paper on the Gael and Brython, R. C. XVIII. pp. 354—5 (1897), D'Arbois seems to endorse Meyer's views.

[4] Meyer, *Learning in Ireland*, p. 4.

course of his researches on matters connected with the early Celtic Church and with Old-Irish culture, Zimmer had come to occupy himself with the question of early Gaulish intercourse with Ireland. This would seem to have suggested to him a theory regarding the Goidelic immigration to Ireland. He had already arrived at the conclusion that the Southern Irish had, from the 3rd century on, established themselves firmly on the coast North and South of the Bristol Channel, basing his arguments on the evidence afforded by Welsh and Irish texts and by the Ogham inscriptions in Wales. In an article posthumously published in the *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie, 1922*, he discusses in detail the theory of Goidelic immigration via Britain, proves its untenability in the light of the accounts of Greek and Latin writers and of Irish tradition alike, suggests that the Goidels came direct from the Continent to Ireland, and that their connections with Wales were the results of raids and colonisations in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Zimmer was not the first to put forward this view. In 1879, Brash, in his book on the *Ogham Inscriptions of the British Isles,* suggested the hypothesis that the Goidels came direct from Gaul or Spain into the South of Ireland, and thence passed into Southern Britain. But Brash was no scholar; even his copies of inscriptions are inaccurate. If he stumbled upon what may prove to be the correct theory, it was, as the Scotch say, "more by grace than good guidance." It is interesting, however, to note that Zimmer refers to Brash, and it is not an improbable conjecture that Zimmer may have received a hint from the lesser scholar on this point.

Dr. Kuno Meyer contributed a suggestive paper on the *Early Relations between Gael and Brython* to the Cymmrodorion in 1895. In this article he endeavoured to combat Rhys's view of Goidelic relations with Wales on historical grounds and maintained that "no Goidel ever set his foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put out from Ireland." Meyer, however, confined himself to the historical period, the period of Irish invasions and colonisations. He offered no constructive theory concerning the Goidelic immigration to Ireland.

Two other Continental scholars, Windisch and Gaidoz, adopt the views of Zimmer as put forward in his latest work.[1]

The most decisive evidence in favour of Zimmer's theory comes, however, from quite another source than that of philology or tradition. As far back as 1895, George Coffey, an eminent Irish archaeologist, arguing solely upon archaeological grounds, reached a precisely similar conclusion regarding the coming of the Goidels direct to Ireland from the Continent.[2] Dr. R. A. S. Macalister of University College, Dublin, also holds that the Goidels came direct to Ireland from the Continent and not via Britain, and that such remains on Welsh soil as would point to an early Goidelic occupation of that country are to be explained by the theory of extensive conquest and colonisation.

BASIS OF THEORY OF IMMIGRATION VIA BRITAIN.

There must obviously be some ground for Rhys's theory, seeing that it has obtained such widespread credence and still claims the support of many scholars of note. The upholders of the theory seem, as Meyer says,[3] to have been influenced by certain preconceived notions and general ideas.

Rhys's theory is based on the assumption that Ireland, being more remote from the Continent, was less within reach of Continental influences in early times.[4] The geographical argument must always be used with caution. Nothing could be more fatal to the scientific investigations of these early problems than to bring to such researches the ideas and conceptions of the 19th and 20th centuries. It is as if we were

[1] Windisch, *Das Keltische Brittanien*, 1912, pp. 25—28; H. Gaidoz, *Deux Erudits Gallois. Extrait de la Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, 1917, pp. 104 ff.

[2] *Journal Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, XXV, p. 37, *Origins of Prehistoric Ornament in Ireland*, and *Proc. R. I. A.* XXVIII, Sect. C. p. 96, *Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland before the First Century*.

[3] *Trans. Cymm.* 1895—1896, pp. 67—8.

[4] Cp. Coffey, *Proc. R. I. A.* XXIV, Sect. C. p. 257 and vol. XXVIII, Sect. C. p. 96, where he complains that "it has been a habit of mind with English archaeologists to regard the periods in Ireland as later than those in Britain and the styles as derived therefrom." Cp. Zimmer on this prevailing error, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie*, 1909, pp. 363—4.

to measure archaeological remains of the Neolithic or Bronze Age by the standard of modern scientific progress. It is difficult, too, for modern students of sedentary habits, *Stubenmenschen* as Zimmer calls them, in these days of comfortable land-routes and conveniently shortened sea journeys, to realise that in far-off barbaric days seas often connected, and lands separated, distant countries.[1] The obvious route for a modern Continental traveller to Ireland lies through England. Matters have been so, more or less, since the days of Agricola. But as we shall see later, this route from the Continent to Ireland was not the older route. Previous to the Roman conquest of Britain, Ireland received her share of Continental culture exclusively by means of direct intercourse with West-Gaulish harbours.[2]

Besides being affected by preconceived ideas based on the relative positions of the two islands with respect to the Continent, Rhys and his followers seem to have been influenced by the popular theory of the westward trend of migration and colonisation, and by old notion that the movements of the Celtic peoples always took place as a hydrostatic wave filling up the neighbouring parts. Further there are obvious parallels in less distant times for that assumption of Rhys's which led him to speak of the "retreating Goidels" driven into the mountainous districts of Wales. According to Rhys, when the Celtic Britons invaded Albion, the Goidels retreated to the West from the 3rd century B. C. on, just as the Britons in their turn retreated before the Angles and Saxons from the 7th century A. D. on.[3] So that those districts which Rhys

[1] Cp. Rhys, *W. P.* p. 83, "In early ages the voyage from the nearest ports of the Continent to Ireland must have been a formidable undertaking." Again in his Address at the Report of the Kerry Meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, Rhys says that he is inclined to take the view that the Goidels came to Ireland via Britain, "for, as a bad sailor, I am readily persuaded that navigating the Bay of Biscay must have always been a serious undertaking for the mariners of early times." (*Arch. Camb.* 5. IX, 1892, pp. 51 ff.) Rhys would have endorsed the Welsh triad which was surely composed by some "bad sailor," and which enumerates among the three things which no wise man does, "going by sea whenever it is possible to take an over-land route." (*Tri peth ni wna un gwr doeth: mynet hyd vor lle gellir tir* etc. M. A. p. 877 and again p. 888.)

[2] Zimmer, *Über direkte Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter,* Sitz. der K. Pr. Akad. 1909—1910.

[3] Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege,* p. 7.

labels "Goidelic during the Roman period" were the refuge first of the "retreating Goidels" and later of the "retreating Britons." There is still another and more modern parallel which cannot have failed to influence Rhys and his followers. Dr. Lloyd brings it forward in his History of Wales as an evidence of the arrival of the Goidel before the Brython: "Which, then, it will be asked, was the branch (of Celts) which invaded Britain at the beginning (*sic*) of the Bronze Age? The answer can hardly be a matter of doubt if the relative position of Goidels and Brythons in our island group since the beginning of history be present to the mind. The Goidelic has always lain to the north-west of the Brythonic country, which has interposed between it and the Continent; before it was proper (if it is now) to speak of a 'Celtic Fringe' there was a Goidelic fringe, the remnant of an early Celtic migration driven over mountain and sea by the pressure of a newer."[1] Thus, as in the 8th century the Celtic-speaking Britons, the Welsh, retreated beyond Offa's Dyke, and as the Celtic-speaking Goidels the modern Irish of Ireland, still cling to their native language all along the Western seaboard from Kerry to Donegal, so the Goidels of the 3rd century B. C. must have retreated before the on-pressing Brythons and maintained their language "almost up to the eve of the Danish invasions" along the South-western coast of Britain (Wales, Cornwall and Devonshire).

Now one of the most striking effects of this treatment of the 6th and 7th century Britons by the heathen Angles and Saxons who drove them from their homes to the mountains of Wales and to the Southern peninsula of Cornwall and Devonshire is seen in the hatred which still existed even at a later period between the Britons and their oppressors.[2] We should expect to find some such remembrance of past ill-treatment at the hands of the Brythons surviving among the Goidelic people of Britain at a later age, say in the Roman period.[3] But there are no grounds for believing that such a traditional hatred existed between Goidel and Brython. Not one Roman writer even hints at such internal feuds as would have been the consequences of racial hatred. Moreover we

[1] Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 20.

[2] See Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 171.

[3] Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 7—9.

read how the British leader, Caratacus, took refuge with the "Goidelic" Silures, "the rough hill-folk of the west, strangers to him in speech and in manners,"[1] and was accepted by them as their leader against the Romans. We must assume, therefore, if we accept Rhys's theory, that the Goidels of Roman Britain, unlike the modern descendants of their brethren who travelled across the sea to Ireland, were a mild and forgiving people who lacked the gall to make oppression bitter.

Finally, it is, as Meyer has remarked, a curious and noteworthy fact that this theory of an early Goidelic occupation of Britain has been advocated solely by Welsh scholars.[2] In this Meyer sees "some subtle influence of native Welsh traditions lurking somewhere below the sphere of consciousness." I quote here Meyer's further remarks on this point: "To the Welsh mind the name *Gwyddel* seems to convey the idea of something aboriginal, a notion that arises in the first instance, no doubt, from a fanciful popular connection of the name with the Welsh word for wood, *gwydd,* as if it meant woodman, dweller in woods. To illustrate this let me quote what Dr. Owen Pughe has to say in his Dictionary s. v. *Gwyddel.* '*Gwyddel,* pl. *Gwyddelod* — that is, of the woods, that is, in a sylvan state; a savage. It is an appellative, synonomous with *Celt* and *Ysgotiaid* for an individual of such tribes as lead a venatic life in woods, in contradistinction to the *Gàl,* living by cultivating the ground. Whichever of these two primary classes of mankind had the ascendancy gave its name to the whole country. There is a tradition of Wales being once inhabited by the Gwythelians, or, more properly, its first inhabitants were so called; and the common people in speaking of it ascribe some ruins about the country, under the name of *Cytiau y Gwyddelod,* to them; and the foxes are said to have been their dogs; and the polecats their domestic cats, and the like . . .' In some parts of Wales, *Gwyddel* is also used to denote gypsies." Two other works repeat this spurious etymology of the word *Gwyddel*; in both cases the statement is founded upon that of Dr. Pughe. Rev. R. Owen in the *Kymry* has as follows: "Gallia, so called from Gal the open disafforested plain, was reduced to cultivation by tribes more

[1] Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales,* p. 52.

[2] *Trans. Cymm.* 1895—1896, p. 68.

advanced in civilisation (Kymry) than the ruder Kelts who dwelt in the bush as trappers and fishermen. The latter were called *Gwyddyl* from their life in the woodlands."[1] A note in the *Iolo Manuscripts* runs: "The expression of the Welsh text is *Gwyddyl*, woodmen, which is the term generally used for Irishmen."[2]

RHYS'S THEORY EXAMINED.[3]

Rhys, in the various editions of his Celtic Britain, gives a "map of Britain showing the relative positions of its chief peoples during the Roman occupation." In this map he uses three colours: red, the colour of *y ddraig goch*, to denote the Brythons; green, the national colour of Ireland, to denote the Goidels; and blue to show "Picts or Ivernians or traces of them." The eastern and midland districts of Britain are coloured red, whilst the far north above the line Firth of Clyde—Solway Firth is blue. The districts coloured green are along the west coast of Britain and consist of four circumscribed areas, bounded on the west by the sea and on the east by red, *i. e.* British, territory. They are as follows:

1. The west coast south of the line Firth of Clyde—Firth of Forth, comprising the modern south Scottish counties of Renfrew, Lanark, Ayr, Dumfries, Kircudbright, Wigtown and the neighbouring North English counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the Isle of Man;
2. The island of Anglesey and the opposite district of North Wales corresponding to the modern counties of Carnarvon, Denbigh and Merioneth;
3. The headland of South Wales comprising the modern Pembrokeshire, South Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, Glamorgan, Brecknock, Monmouth and Hereford to the River Severn;
4. On the other side of the Bristol Channel, Cornwall, Devonshire, Somerset and Dorset.

[1] *The Kymry*, Carmarthen, 1891, ch. II, p. 25. On p. 31 the author translates Gwyddyl Ffichti as "painted Gaels or dwellers in the bush."

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 413.

[3] This section is in the main an abridgement of Zimmer's paper: *"Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland?"* Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuß. Akademie, Berlin, 1912.

Blue stripes in all four districts denote the unassimilated aboriginal inhabitants.

Now the main argument on which Rhys founds this distribution of the "chief peoples" of Britain is the presence of the Ogham inscriptions. These inscriptions have been proved to date from the post-Roman period; most of them are of the 6th century, some of the 5th and some of the 7th. These Goidelic inscriptions bear witness to the presence of Goidels in the districts in which they have been found for the period 5th—7th centuries, and for that period alone. They cannot be used as an argument for the presence of Goidels in Roman Britain.[1]

The uniform red of Eastern and Mid-Britain suggests that the conquest of the Brythons who arrived in the 3rd century B. C. was singularly triumphant.[2] No blue stripes are needed here to show unassimilated aborigines, no green stripes to indicate unassimilated Goidels. The position, too, of the "retreating Goidels" is remarkable. With an unerring instinct they made exactly for those districts on the coast of Western Britain from which, in clear weather, the opposite coast of Ireland is visible. Moreover, as already noted, these Goidels of Western Britain were on peaceful terms with the conquering Brythons who hemmed them in. Zimmer offers an explanation of these peculiar features.[3] The Goidels of the 6th century B. C., he says, must have taken a "through-ticket" to Ireland from the Continent, passed through England at express speed and embarked for Ireland at various convenient points on the western coast. Those who had, as it were, "missed the train," found when they arrived at these points that they were too late for the boats, whereupon they made the best of matters by settling down peaceably in those western districts of Britain! Thus, and thus only, can we explain the appearance of a Goidelic

[1] For Rhys's views on the Ogham inscriptions see *Celt. Brit.* 1882, p. 213, and the 1904 edn. of the same work (p. 218) for later concessions which he made (cp. Rice Holmes, *Invasions of Caesar*, p. 446). See also *Welsh People* 1900, p. 19, where Rhys regards the absence of Ogham inscriptions from Mid-Wales as "a remarkable corroboration" of the view that the Ordovic territory was "the most thoroughly Brythonic."

[2] This district had previous to its conquest by Brythons been thoroughly Goidelised. See *Welsh People* 1900, p. 11; also *Celt. Brit.* 1882, p. 213.

[3] *Auf welchem Wege*, p. 10.

population obviously on peaceful terms with the neighbouring Britons "during the Roman occupation of Britain" in those districts of West Britain from which the shores of the opposite island are visible in clear weather.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of the route of the Goidels from the Continent to Ireland, let us question the chief authorities for Roman Britain for some indications of the presence of these Goidels "during the Roman occupation" in the four regions coloured green in Rhys's map.

In the most southern Goidelic territory on Rhys's map, the Dumnonian peninsula, we find the tribes in possession from west to east to be the Cornovii, Dumnonii and Durotriges, names which, as they lack the distinctive criterion of *qu: p*, may be either Brythonic or Goidelic. Rhys takes them to be Goidels,[1] and colours their territory (later Corn-wales, Corn-wall: Dyvnaint, Devonshire) a Goidelic green. Thus, in the region from Land's End to the line Stour-Avon, Celtic Goidels had by the Roman period assimilated an original non-Aryan population, just as east of that line, Brythonic Celts had assimilated Goidels and Goidelised aborigines; here there reigned, "during the Roman occupation," Goidelic speech, the mother of Old-Irish, as in Rhys's red district to the east a Brythonic dialect, the mother of Old-Welsh, was spoken. Early in the 5th century the invasions of the Angles and Saxons began. Saxon hordes were already a menace to the shores of Britain in Roman times; to this the Comes litoris Saxonici in the Notitia Dignitatum bears witness. The names East Saxe, Middle Seaxe and South Seaxe show the regions of their early occupation. West Seaxe (Wessex), the present-day counties of Hampshire, Berks, Wilts, Dorset and Somerset far into Devonshire, was the starting point for all the Saxon and Anglian states of later times from the 8th century on. The Britons of these regions and the Celtic-Roman population of S. E. England fled in terror before the Saxons. Many of them took refuge in the opposite coast of Armorica, at that time thinly inhabited by a Romance-speaking population. Here they settled down in the 5th century and were reinforced by stragglers all through the course of the next century. We can determine very accurately the district of Britain whence

[1] Cp. *Welsh People*, p. 93, "The Dumnonii were probably Goidels."

these Armorican settlers fled. One of the dialects of modern Brittany is that of Cornouailles (Br. Kerneo), *i. e.* Cornovii. North of these Cornovii in Brittany, from Elorn to Couesnon, are the Dumnonii. These are the descendants of the two well known British tribes who have given their names to modern Cornwall and Devonshire. Now according to Rhys's map, these Cornovii and Dumnonii were Goidels speaking the Goidelic language "during the Roman occupation." They emigrated at the close of the Roman occupation, early in the 5th century. The so-called "Brythonic conquest," whereby the Brythons overcame the Goidels of these districts and assimilated them in language, is placed in the 5th century, but it was not finally accomplished until the 7th century. One would expect that a district lying so out of reach of the alleged Brythonising Ordovices as the Dumnonian peninsula should have preserved the distinction of its Goidelic race and speech, and have transmitted these to Armorica in the 5th—6th centuries when its inhabitants were forced to flee their native land, carrying with them their language, traditions, sagas and religion.[1] Now philologically speaking, Breton, the language of the descendants of the Cornovii and Dumnonii, stands in the same relation to Welsh, the modern form of P-Celtic, as Scottish-Gaelic or Manx stands to Irish, the modern development of Q-Celtic. Its relation to the now extinct Cornish language was still closer, and Cornish, like Welsh, belonged to the Brythonic or P-Celtic group.

It is obvious that, in face of these facts, we must regard the district in S. W. England from Land's End to Stour-Avon as a Brythonic territory peopled by a Brythonic-speaking race "during the Roman occupation."[2]

Proceeding from South to North, the next Goidelic territory lies on the other side of the Bristol Channel, and corresponds to modern South Wales, comprising modern Pembrokeshire, South Cardiganshire etc. In this extensive area Ptolemy places the Demetae and Silures. The name of the Demetae survives in Modern Welsh Dyfed. The tribe of the Silures to the east played an important role in the history of the conquest of

[1] Cp. Zimmer on question of language etc. of these refugees, *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 14—15.

[2] *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 11—17.

Britain by the Romans. Judging alike by the accounts of Greek and Roman writers and by the later history of the country and its inhabitants, it is difficult to believe that a Goidelic population (*i. e.* a mixed population consisting of conquering Goidels and assimilated aborigines) should have occupied this genuinely British district from St. David's to the mouth of the Severn during the Roman period. It was among the Silures that the British leader, Caratacus, first took refuge when he retreated from his British home in the east (a. 43). For over 25 years (a. 50—78) these "Goidelic" Silures and their Brythonic neighbours, the Ordovices, stood shoulder to shoulder in an obstinate resistance to the Romans. A Roman legion was stationed in their territory at Caerleon ar Wysc (*Castra Legionis supra Iscam*); another, the 14th, lay at Wroxeter (*Viroconium*) in British territory, whilst the third (20th Legion) was stationed on the boundary between British and Goidelic territory at Chester (*Deva*). Here was an admirable opportunity for the Romans of observing the many differences which must have existed between the two peoples, Goidels and Brythons. The philological differences between their languages were considerable, for not only did the Goidel use *maqvos, equos, quenque, quetvores* where the Brython used *mapos, epos, pempe, petvores*, but the Goidel had left his continental home some centuries before the Brython and had meanwhile assimilated the non-Aryan aboriginal. Yet the Romans, between the years 50 and 78 and later, made not the slightest remark on all these numerous differences. The Roman writer who noted that the Continental Gauls had *sermo haud multum diversus* from that of the Brythons in Britain, has left no record of the presence of Britain of Celtic Goidels with a speech which differed in many important respects from that of the Brythons. It is preposterous to expect us to believe that the Romans, who had such ample opportunities of noting both "Goidelic" Silures and British Ordovices, were so stupid as not to remark the glaring differences in speech and in culture between the two peoples.[1]

The same arguments hold for the third "Goidelic" district (Modern North Wales). As already remarked, the 20th Legion lay upon the eastern boundary of this territory, just where it

[1] *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 19—20.

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joined with the territory of the British Ordovices, Cornovii and Setantii. From the 6th century up to the present day this region has been the strongest retreat of the Brythons. Yet Rhys asks us to believe that, in the Roman period, the home of Owen Glyndwr, of Llywelyn, of Owen Gwynedd, Eryri, nay *Mon fam Gymru* itself, were all Goidelic territory. What follows if we accept this? The expeditions of Suetonius Paulinus in 61 A. D. against Anglesey, the refuge of the Brythons (*Monam incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum.* Tac. Ann. IV. 29), were directed not against Brythons but against Goidels; the women standing on the brink at the other side of the Menai Straits, *in modum Furiarum veste ferali, crinibus deiectis*, were not British women but Goidelic; and the *druidae* who stretched their hands aloft to heaven in the torchglare were not the druids of the Brythons, but the druids of the Goidels. Tacitus in his *Germania* may show himself to be well-versed in Germanic affairs, but if Rhys be right in assigning these districts to Goidels "during the Roman occupation," Tacitus appears in the *Annales* and the *Agricola,* as lamentably ignorant of British affairs.[1]

Now comes the last and most northerly territory of the Goidels "during the Roman occupation." To the western district which lies beside this "Goidelic territory," and which Rhys in his map marks as inhabited by pure aborigines (blue), Ptolemy assigns the tribe of the Epidii. Beyond all possibility of doubt, this is a British name; the British *epos* corresponds to the Goidelic *equos,* and the exact counterpart to the name of this British tribe is found in the common Irish name, Eochaidh. Does it seem likely that a Goidelic population should have persisted thus from earliest times, unmolested by their close neighbours, the British Epidii? Again, to the south-east of the Epidii, Ptolemy places the Dumnonii. Their territory, forming a considerable part of the whole "Goidelic" territory, is coloured green by Rhys in his map, just as the Dumnonii of the South were transformed by him into Goidels. We may assume that the Northern Dumnonii were Brythons, not Goidels, seeing that their north-westerly neighbours, the Epidii, were, as is proved by their name, of British race and that their southern namesakes were likewise Brythons, as already proved. Finally, in the most

[1] *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 21—22.

northerly headland of Scotland, Ptolemy places the tribe of the Kornabioi. The Cornovii of Southern Britain, likewise situated on a "horn" or headland, were, as already shown, Brythons. Hence we may assume that Ptolemy's Kornobioi were also Brythons. It is quite probable that, in the 1st century of our era, and in some parts later, the unassimilated aborigines existed under Celtic rule.[1] Bede testifies to an aboriginal population (Picti) in the modern county of Wigtown and at Nith in the 5th century and later. But according to Ptolemy's Geography, these ruling Celts were British, not Goidelic.

In the third year of his governorship (a. 80) Agricola undertook an expedition to the north of Britain and carried the Roman arms to a line Firth of Clyde—Firth of Tay. He spent two years (a. 81—82) in fortifying the conquered district and in making preparations for the conquest of all the North. *Eam partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem* (Tac. Agr. 24), by which is meant the peninsula of Galloway, the district between the Solway Firth and the Firth of Clyde, and as the passage implies, Agricola intended to cross thence, after the final overthrow of North Britain, to Ireland. Now according to Rhys, Agricola and his Roman army were then encamped (a. 84) in a Goidelic district, and the language spoken in that district differed not at all from the language spoken on the opposite Irish coast. On each side the same population, the same speech. Whilst Agricola was here, *expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis . . . Hiberniae exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat; saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse, idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romani ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur* (Tac. Agr. 24). If the conditions in Galloway and Wigtown were similar to those in Ireland opposite, if the same Goidelic speech were spoken everywhere there, if one and the same race occupied both territories, then the Goidelic princeling would surely have enlightened Tacitus on this point, and the writer of *Germania* would assuredly have had no motive to conceal from us the fact that Celtic Goidels were ruling in these districts. We may regard the silence of Tacitus as a proof that in the districts from the Solway Firth to the Firth of Clyde

[1] *Auf welchem Wege*, p. 22.

the conditions of the population were none other to the Roman observer than they were, for instance, at Hadrian's Wall. Whether the mass of the population consisted more or less of unassimilated aborigines, it could not attract the attention of the aristocratic Roman conquerors; though the fact that in this part of Britain, the Celtic ruling class belonged to the Q-Celts whilst throughout the rest of Britain they belonged to the P-Celts could not have failed to impress them.[1]

There remains now but the Isle of Man which Rhys also colours green. Caesar calls this island Mona, which is obviously a confusion with the name of Anglesey, a confusion all the more pardonable since the name of Anglesey is closely connected with the name for the smaller island. Pliny gives it as Monapia, which, judging by the later phonetic development of the name in Welsh (*Manaw*), is a mistake for Monavia or Manavia. The same name occurs in other localities: in *Manau Guotodin* in N. E. Britain, the territory of the British Otadini (Votadini), and in the O. W. *Moniu*, Mod. W. *Mynyw*, the Welsh name for St. David's (latinised Menevia). It can be shown that the various phonetic developments through which the name has passed since the days of Pliny are according to the rules of British philology. Further it will be noted that the various localities wherein the name occurs are certainly British territory. That the island was colonised by the Goidels of Ireland at an early period (say, after the 3rd century A. D. when the Goidels began to take a large part in the affairs of Britain) is very probable, but for the period of the Roman occupation which Rhys's map is intended to represent, it must be looked upon as Brythonic territory.[2]

To sum up, there are three main objections against Rhys's theory, viz. that, in the four extensive districts of West Britain above described, an original Goidelic population, a mixed people consisting of Goidelic conquerors and Goidelised aboriginals, existed in the period which shortly preceded the Roman conquest of Britain and during the Roman occupation. They are as follows.

Firstly, the Romans themselves are silent as to the presence of Goidels in Western Britain, although the 20th and 2nd legions

[1] *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 22—24.
[2] *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 24—27.

were posted almost in the midst of these so-called Goidels and Roman roads ran through their alleged territories. Not a name of man or place in these districts which bears the characteristic mark of the Q-Celts has been preserved for us by the Romans; not one inscription of the Roman period (up to the end of the 4th century) shows a Goidelic name. Moreover there could have been no motive for the Goidels or for the Romans to change the *qu* of Goidelic names into *p*.[1]

Secondly, Ptolemy, in that portion of his Geography which deals in detail with Ireland, ascribes a British tribe, the Menapii, to the region bounding the modern counties of Wicklow and Wexford. The Menapii are the well-known Celtic tribe in the old territory of Gallia Belgica. That these Menapii, P-Celts, Britons, should be situated in the east of Ireland is an extraordinary phenomenon, if we take Rhys's map as an accurate picture of the "relative position of the chief peoples of Britain during the Roman occupation." The Goidels who, Rhys would have us believe, retreated before the Brythonic immigrants in the 3rd century B. C. had still in their possession, at the Roman period, the whole west coast of Britain with the exception of two strips; in Mid-Wales, the British Ordovices had forced their way to the sea between modern Aberystwyth and Barmouth; north of the Dee-mouth in modern Lancashire were the British Setantii. Now these two coast-strips in the possession of British tribes are just those from which it is most unlikely that the British tribe should have crossed to Ireland. The coast of Ireland is not visible from either district; the regions whence the Irish coast could be seen in clear weather were in the hands of the Goidels.[2]

Finally, the Goidels of Ireland must themselves have some say in this matter. We do not of course expect that in the 8th century A. D. the inhabitants of Ireland should still retain an historically accurate tradition of their origin. But it is not

[1] Cp. Sir E. Anwyl, *Early Settlers in Brecon, Arch. Camb.* 6th Series, III, 1903, p. 34, where he acknowledges that "it is certainly surprising that the wave of Goidelic Celts should not have left more traces of its presence in the place names of Wales," but endeavours to explain this fact by assuming the Brythons to have turned the Goidelic names into Brythonic. There are, however, no grounds for this assumption.

[2] *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 28—30.

too much to expect that some shadow of such a tradition should fall over Old-Irish saga and literature. We must remember, too, that Britain whither the *regulus* of Tacitus fled in the 1st century of our era was probably from very early times a refuge for exiled Goidels, that intercourse between Ireland and Britain was maintained in a lively degree from the 3rd century A.D. onwards, that peaceful intercourse between the British and Irish Churches of the 5th — 6th centuries was close and constant. Were it strange that Old-Irish literature, dating back in language to the 8th century, should place the home of their ancestors across the narrow Irish sea amongst the hospitable *Bretain*? It would seem the most natural thing in the world. Yet not a trace of any such traditional belief is to be found anywhere in Old-Irish literature. From the 8th century on, the Goidels of Ireland had a firm tradition that they had immigrated to Ireland direct from the continent, and found there an aboriginal population which they conquered. As Zimmer says: "An immigration of the Goidels across Britain lies as far from their heroic traditions as the thought that they had fallen from the moon."[1]

IRELAND'S CONNECTION WITH WEST GAUL.

If not across Britain from the Continent, then by what route, did the Goidels of Ireland reach the ancient Iverion? I have already referred to the importance of freeing our minds from modern conceptions and ideas in order to get a clear and true realisation of the conditions and possibilities and probabilities of far-off events. In the course of two thousand years, trade-routes have completely changed. Ever since the mediaeval period old trade-routes have gradually fallen into disuse, for with the discovery of America a new era dawned for the European world. Furthermore, trade does not always follow the lines of nearest geographical approach. In early times as now, it is chiefly determined by the objects sought and by the position of markets.

Let us assume that the Goidels reached Ireland by a direct route from the Continent and not via Britain. Is it possible to discover even in the mediaeval period traces of what may

[1] *Auf welchem Wege*, p. 31.

prove to have been an earlier direct intercourse between the Continent and Ireland?[1]

Giraldus Cambrensis (born 1147) who had spent some time in Ireland (1185 and 1186) writes thus in his *Topographia Hibernica* (I ch. 6): *Vineis et earum cultoribus semper caruit et caret insula. Vina tamen transmarina ratione commercii tam abunde terram replent, ut vix propaginis proventusque naturalis in aliquo defectum percipias. Pictavia namque de plenitudine sua ei copiose vina transmittit. Cui et animalium coria pecudum ferarumque tergora Hibernia non ingrata remittit.*[2] Thus at the beginning of the Anglo-Norman occupation, Ireland carried on a brisk direct commerce with West Gaul. Judging by the nature of the Gaulish export, we may assume the harbours to have been Nantes, La Rochelle and Bordeaux, at the mouths of the two great rivers of West Gaul, the Loire and the Garonne.

Going back five centuries or so, we find further evidences of this direct trade. On the high authority of Jonas of Bobbio's Life of Columban, preserved in an almost contemporary MS., we know that in the year 609 A. D. there was just such a direct commerce between Nantes and Ireland as in the 20th century we should find *e. g.* from Liverpool, Antwerp or Hamburg to America. Columban and his companions had no difficulty in returning to Ireland direct from Gaul: *Reperta ergo navis quae Scottorum commercia vexerat, omnem suppellectilem comitesque recepit.*[3] For the same period and earlier we have evidence of Gaulish wine-traders *(mercatores cum vino Gallorum*[4]*)* carrying their wares as far up the Shannon as Clonmacnois (*circ.* 541), and of Gaulish sailors *(Gallici nautae de Galliarum provinciis advenientes*[5]*)* bringing news of an Italian earthquake to the famous monastery of Columcille at Iona, doubtless also *cum vino Gallorum.*

[1] Zimmer, *Über direkte Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter, Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuß. Akademie*, 1909—1910; Coffey, *Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland, Proc. R. I. A.* XXVIII C.; and Reinach, *Les croissants d'or irlandais, RC.* XXI, p. 92.

[2] Zimmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1909, XIV, pp. 364—365. See also Coffey, *Intercourse of Gaul*, p. 97.

[3] Quoted by Zimmer from the *Vita*, *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 366.

[4] *Vita Ciarani*, ch. 31, in Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hib.* I. 214, quoted by Zimmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 368.

[5] Zimmer, *ib.*, p. 367.

The extraordinarily detailed account of the coast of Ireland, both eastern and western, which Ptolemy gives in his Geography, a far more detailed account than that which he gives of Britain, must be explained by assuming that he got this detailed information from travellers' tales, from *Gallici mercatores* of the 1st — 2nd centuries A. D. Furthermore from the well known passage of Tacitus as to the position, size, climate and population of Ireland as compared with those of Britain[1], we may conclude that a lively trade existed between Gaul and Ireland at that period. It is only in the light of this fact, namely that there was commerce from West-Gaulish harbours (Nantes and Bordeaux) to Ireland, as well as to South-west Britain, that we can account for the belief of Tacitus that Ireland was situated between Britain and Spain. The belief implies a southern branch of trade from South Gaul or even Spain to Ireland, as distinguished from the cross-channel trade with Britain.

Of the wine-trade with Western Gaul there are many traces in Old-Irish literature, particularly in the borrowing of words connected with the trade.[2] The history of the Irish word *Gall*, pl. *Gaill*, is a striking evidence of early Gaulish connections with Ireland. From its original meaning of "a Gaul" it has come to denote a foreigner. Gauls, Gaulish merchants, were for a long period the commonest foreigners on Irish soil. Their name, becoming the general term for foreigner in Irish speech, is commonly applied in the 9th — 11th centuries to the Norwegians and Danes (cp. *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*); from the 12th century on it has been used to denote the English in Ireland.

It is obvious too that other commodities than Bordeaux wine must have thus passed from West Gaul into Ireland in the course of centuries of commerce. Zimmer has proved that the Christian religion was introduced into Ireland years before

[1] Zimmer, *ib.*, pp. 373 ff. "Si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit," (Tac. *Agr.* 24), and also "melius aditus portusque *per commercia et negotiatores cogniti*." See also Coffey, *Proc. R. I. A.* XXVIII C., p. 98, and *Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Irel.* XXV, p. 27.

[2] Zimmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1909, pp. 430—476, where he gives numerous refs. to Old-Irish literature and discusses the origin of several Old-Irish loanwords.

the mission of Patrick.[1] The early Irish church shows unmistakable marks of Gaulish influence in its monastic organisation, in the wonderful culture of its clerics and in its spirit of tolerance and truly Christian charity.[2] A striking discovery of modern Irish research seems to show that the remarkable outburst of classical learning which appeared in Ireland at the end of the 6th century was due to an immigration of Gaulish scholars to Ireland, following the devastation of Gaul by the Huns and Goths. It has long been recognised that this learning could not have been the result of the labours of St. Patrick who was, as he himself so often admits, no scholar. Nor is it probable that Gaulish or British missionaries brought these studies to Ireland. Amid a glossary of Latin words in a 12th century MS. is an entry (which Zimmer regards as written in the west of Gaul not later then the 6th century) to the effect that the Gauls, at the time of the barbarian invasions, took refuge "in transmarine parts *i. e.* in Hiber(n)ia, and wherever they betook themselves brought about a very great advance of learning to the inhabitants of those regions." The reasons which directed the steps of these emigrants to the distant island are found in the constant and regular intercourse and commerce between Gaul and Ireland, dating from centuries before that time. It was in no *terra incognita* that these fugitives sought an asylum.[3]

Of direct Irish trade-connection with West-Gaulish harbours in the first century B. C. we have no written records. But Strabo (Geogr. IV, 1, 14) and Caesar (Bell. Gall. III, 8) bear witness to the brisk trade which existed at that time, and probably for centuries before, between Gaul and Britain.

[1] Zimmer, *Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland.*

[2] Zimmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1909, pp. 559—577. So also the 9th century Abbot-Bishop and King, Cormac mac Cuilennáin, tells us that the upright stones (*coirthe cloiche*), so common throughout Ireland, were known by the name "gall," *ar it Gaill rosnidsetar an Erinn artus* ("because the Gauls first set them up in Ireland"). Zimmer (*ib.*, p. 612) suggests from this that the Gauls introduced the Ogham script and the practice of Ogham inscriptions, but the name *gallán*, a diminutive of *gall*, is still used at the present day to denote an upright stone without any inscription or any idea of sepulchral commemoration, and obviously it is to these that Cormac refers.

[3] Kuno Meyer: *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and the Transmission of Letters.* Dublin, 1913.

Caesar testifies to the skilful and daring navigation of the Gauls (Bell. Gall. III, 9, 7) and he expressly states that the Veneti were in the habit of sailing to Britain (*ib.* 8, 1). Bearing in mind the lively direct trade between West-Gaul and Ireland in the 1st century A. D. according to the testimony of Tacitus, it is hard to believe that such should not have existed in the time of Caesar and Strabo, that the skilful West Gaulish navigators should not have undertaken the short journey from the headland of modern Brittany northwestwards to Ireland.[1] If neither Caesar nor Strabo know of Gaulish trade with Ireland, this need not surprise us when we remember how jealously the secret of the position of the Cassiterides was guarded, so that the Romans were ignorant of their whereabouts for 150 years after they had taken possession of Spain. Only after the Roman conquest of Gaul was the tin-trade with S. W. Britain discovered. So it is not until the Romans had conquered Britain, until the time of Tacitus, that we find records of the direct trade of West Gaul with Ireland.

Zimmer, so far as can be gathered, intended to prove that the Phoenicians who carried on commerce in western waters from the 9th century B. C. on, had discovered Ireland by 600 B. C.[2] The sixth chapter of his article on West-Gaulish trade with Ireland was afterwards expanded into the work *Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland* (Abhandlungen, 1912), which was left unfinished at his death. But in the first draft of a scheme for the whole research he gives as title for this section of the work: *Irlands Verbindung mit Westgallien vom 2. bis 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und Irlands Anteil am Kassiteridenhandel.* (Sitzungsberichte, p. 364, n. 3.) Zimmer can hardly have intended to prove that Ireland had any share in the tin-trade. There is practically no native tin in the country. The source of tin was Cornwall,

[1] The account of Irish manners and morals (polyandry, matriarchy, etc.) which Strabo gives in his discussion of Pytheas and the Thule problem Zimmer would regard as the result of "travellers' tales," as later the geographical knowledge of Ptolemy must have been derived from a similar source. These customs etc. were probably characteristic of the non-Aryan inhabitants of the island. *Sitzungsberichte*, pp. 1102 — 1105.

[2] *Sitzungsberichte*, pp. 378, 1095.

and if we may believe Diodorus Siculus and other early writers, it was brought for purposes of export eastward (to the Isle of Wight apparently), and not westward. To have traded in tin by way of Ireland would have involved a double and very lengthy sea-voyage. As regards the discovery of Ireland by the Phoenicians, it is still a matter of doubt whether they ever got as far as the British Isles. On the other hand, an early direct connection between Ireland and Gaul is almost certain, but the trade was not in tin.

A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION OF A DIRECT GOIDELIC IMMIGRATION TO IRELAND.

Now if we accept Rhys's theory of the Goidelic immigration via Britain, the colonisation of Ireland was, as it were, an afterthought. The Celts who set out from the Continent had not intended to penetrate to the smaller island, if indeed its existence were known to them at all. On the other hand, if we accept Zimmer's theory of a direct immigration from the Continent to Ireland, we must assume that the continental Celts, the Goidels, set out from Gaul with Ireland as goal. Why should they have sailed for the distant island? What special attraction had Ireland for these peoples?

Throughout the Bronze Age Ireland was the great source of supply of gold in the western world. "L'Irlande" says M. Salomon Reinach,[1] "semble avoir été vers l'an 1500—1000 av. J.-C., un véritable Eldorado." Not only did prehistoric Ireland produce her own gold; she also exported it to other lands. The evidence for the ancient importance of Ireland in gold lies in its having been found native in the country up to a recent period, and in the surpassing wealth of the country in ancient gold ornaments. Gold was worked in County Wicklow down to the end of the 18th century. "After the discovery of native gold in Co. Wicklow in 1796," wrote Coffey in his *Bronze Age in Ireland* (p. 46), "the Government undertook mining operations and in three years collected 944 ounces worth at the price of the day £3,675. Since the workings were abandoned by the Government, the district has been worked at intervals by companies and at other times by the

[1] *Les Croissants d'or irlandais*, *R. C.* XXI. p. 166.

peasants; the total output since 1795 is estimated at a value of £30,000." Gold has also been found in smaller quantities in the counties of Wexford, Dublin, Kildare, Derry, Tyrone and Antrim. The study of the prehistoric relations of Ireland with the other countries of Europe has shown that there was a direct navigation between Ireland and Spain.[1] The connections of Ireland with Scandinavia are clearly attested from the beginning of the metal epoch, that is, about 15 centuries before the Christian era. From Scandinavia the spiral motif in ornament travelled to Ireland, and, in exchange for the product of Irish gold mines, Scandinavia probably exported large quantities of amber to Ireland.[2] Archaeologists trace indications of prehistoric relations between Ireland and Brittany in the ornament on the stone-monument of Gavr'inis in Armorica which bears such a striking resemblance to that on the Newgrange stones.[3]

The number of prehistoric gold ornaments in the National Museum, Dublin, is truly astonishing, all the more so when we remember that up to the year 1861 there were no regulations in force to secure the possession of chance finds to the nation. How much was, previous to that date, disposed of by finders or consigned to the smelting-pot can never be estimated. The average weight of the articles is another indication of the abundance of the metal. Coffey has estimated that the total weight of the gold objects in Dublin Museum amounts to 570 ounces, whilst all the similar finds made in England, Scotland and Wales, as represented in the British Museum, weigh only 20 ounces, that is 25 times less.[4]

There are many references in Irish literature to gold ornaments and trappings, and to payments of gold by weight. An ancient tradition which occurs in the Book of Leinster

[1] *ib.*, pp. 87 ff.

[2] *ib. R. C.* XXI, pp. 89 ff. Coffey: *Journal of Roy. Soc. of Antiq. Ireland*, 1897, p. 42.

[3] S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Coffey: *Trans. R. I. A.*, Vol. XXX, 1892.

[4] See Armstrong: *Clare Find of 1854* (*Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ir.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 21, 1917). Coffey: *Distribution of gold Lunulae in Ireland and N. W. Europe* (*Proc. R. I. A.* XXVII C., p. 251). The map which accompanies this paper (reproduced in Coffey's *Bronze Age in Ireland*, p. 55) is a striking indication of the way in which Ireland was a centre for the distribution of gold ornaments. See also: Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, ch. XI; Wilde's *Catalogue of the R. I. A. Collection*.

(12th century) ascribes the first smelting of gold in Ireland to the Milesian King, Tighearnmus.[1] It is interesting to note that this tradition assigns these first operations to the district in which gold has been found in considerable quantities in modern times.

As Coffey remarks, the knowledge of Irish gold deposits must have been "a very considerable factor in the foreign relations of the island in the Bronze Age." The presence of such large quantities of gold in the country would undoubtedly draw the commerce of other nations and offer an inducement for colonisation at a very early period. An old Irish tradition represents the early invaders of Ireland as first landing at the mouth of the River Slaney, *Inbhear Sláinghe*. If we assume the early Celtic-speaking invaders of Ireland to have learned of this western El Dorado, through travellers' tales or from merchants in Gaul, it is quite natural that they should set sail from the Continent direct to Ireland. And *Inbhear Sláinghe* is the most convenient point at which they could land if these gold fields were the goal they had in view.[2] There was no reason why they should take the trouble to fight their way across Britain when they could reach their objective by sea with so much less difficulty.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUPPORT FOR THEORY OF DIRECT IMMIGRATION.

It is by means of ethnology and archaeology that these problems of prehistoric movements and migrations of peoples must be solved. Ridgeway, on archaeological and ethnological grounds, arrived at the conclusion that there was a direct immigration of Goidels to Ireland. "It is not unlikely that, as tradition states, there were incursions of Celts from Central Gaul into Ireland during the general Celtic unrest in the 6th century B. C. It is certain that at a later period invaders from

[1] Cp. *F. M. sub A. M.* 3656: "As la Tigearumus bheos robearbhad or ar tus in-Erinn i Foithribh Airthir Liffe. Achadan ceard dFearoibh Cualann rodusbearbh. As lais ro cumhdaighit cuirn ocus breathnassa dor ocus dargat in-Erinn ar tus."

[2] R. A. S. Macalister, *Temair Breg: Remains and Traditions of Tara, Proc. R. I. A.*, vol. XXXIV. Sect. C (1919), p. 321.

the continent, bringing with them La Tène culture, had settled in Ireland. Not only are relics of La Tène culture found in Ireland but the oldest epics celebrate tall, fair-haired, grey-eyed heroes, armed and clad in Gallic fashion, who had come from the continent." [1]

So far archaeologists have not devoted much research to the particular problem of the immigration of the Goidels to Ireland. Coffey, however, has studied the matter in some detail. In the paper already referred to on *The Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland before the First Century* he says that the distribution of certain archaeological remains in Ireland and in Europe "may indicate a movement of Celtic people from Northern Italy by the Rhone Valley across Gaul to the South and East of Ireland before the time of Tacitus by the way suggested by Professor Zimmer." [2] The concluding sentence of this article is worth quoting in full: "We see, therefore, that the results of the archaeological conclusions in this Paper hardly support the statement commonly made in all school-books, that the Gael came to Ireland through Great Britain; but they strongly support Professor Kuno Meyer's contention to the contrary in his Paper on the 'Brython and Gael' in the Cymmrodorion Society's Transactions, 1895—1896." [3]

OBJECTIONS URGED BY UPHOLDERS OF THEORY OF IMMIGRATION VIA BRITAIN.

Before summing up the arguments in favour of a direct immigration of Goidels to Ireland, we shall see what are the main objections which Rhys and his school urge against the theory of Zimmer, and how far they are valid in the light of more modern research. Rhys conplains of a "lack of data to enable us to judge of the attitude of the advocates of the hypothesis of the exclusive Irish origin (of Goidels in Britain) with regard to the question of the aboriginal population. Nor," he continues, "can we hope to understand their position till they indicate how they suppose the Goidels of Ireland to have

[1] Ridgeway, *Encycl. Brit.* s. v. *Celt.*

[2] *Proc. R. I. A.* XXVIII, Sect. C, p. 106.

[3] *Ib.*

reached that country."[1] As regards the aboriginal population, *i. e.* the people whom the first Celtic invaders of Britain found in possession of the land, the answer is that they were non-Aryans. The results of archaeological investigations and the study of native Irish traditions alike warrant the "supposition" that the Goidels reached Ireland direct from the continent, and not through Great Britain. The route taken by the Goidels was probably that "from Northern Italy by the Rhone valley across Gaul to the south and east of Ireland."[2] "This was an old route," Coffey tells us, "and probably known back into the Bronze Age."[3]

The chief argument urged against Zimmer's theory, however, and that which no doubt won many adherents for Rhys's hypothesis, is the fact that the Roman army was in occupation of Wales, the region where traces of a Goidelic population have survived, during the early centuries of our era. The Romans were in military possession of West Britain; two out of the four legions quartered in the island were situated on the frontier of what is now Wales. Dr. Beddoe argued that it was extremely improbable that "the Romans would have allowed the Irish Gael to acquire by violence possession of a large portion of one of their provinces."[4] Doctor Lloyd contends that "there is no indication that the conquerors (Romans) so far relaxed their hold upon the west in the last two centuries of their occupation of the island as to leave room for a real settlement carried out on a large scale by Goidelic invaders."[5] Rhys at

[1] *W. P.* 1900, p. 82. When Rhys wrote this he had not accepted the theory of a two-fold Brythonic invasion, which he advocated later. He assumed then that the first Brythonic invaders came to Britain in the 2nd or 3rd century B. C. and that the aboriginal population of Britain was non-Aryan. It was difficult to believe that Britain should have been in the possession of a non-Aryan population till such a late period. But it is now held that the first Brythonic invasion took place at the beginning of the Iron Age. If the upholders of Rhys's theory substitute "Brythons of the first invasion, Brythons plus non-Aryan aborigines" for "Goidels," and "Belgic invaders" for "Brythons," they may still retain the old satisfying notion of a Celtic population driven westwards and northwards about the 3rd century B. C. by a new wave of Celtic conquest.

[2] *Proc. R. I. A.*, vol. XXVIII, 1910, Sect. C, p. 106.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] *Races of Britain*, p. 29.

[5] Lloyd: *Hist. of Wales*, I, p. 97. This argument seems to have decided Lloyd in favour of Rhys's theory. Meyer (*Trans. Cymm.* 1895—1896) frankly acknow-

first denied all possibility of Irish invasions or occupations of Wales during the Roman occupation.[1] Later he conceded that there were settlements of Irish in Western Britain, at an early period, but never on a large scale.[2] Thus the modern upholders of the theory of an original Goidelic population in Britain, regard the Goidelic elements in Wales as evidenced by early pseudo-historical works and in the Goidelic Ogham inscriptions, as due in bulk to the original Goidelic population and in a lesser degree to Irish invaders.[3]

Professor Haverfield, the greatest authority on Roman Britain, has shown that Roman Britain was sharply marked off into two areas, one civil (the eastern and southern lowlands), the other military (the northern and western uplands).[4] A glance at his map of the military districts of Roman Britain will show that the whole headland of South-west Wales (Demetia) as well as the peninsula of Lleyn and the island of Anglesey, lay altogether outside the garrison area. Now these "thinly inhabited

ledges the difficulty of accepting his own theory in view of the Roman supremacy in Wales but does not attempt to explain it away.

[1] *Celt. Brit.* 1882. "There is not a particle of evidence to show that they (sc. invaders from Ireland) ever made for Wales or Devon." Cp. also p. 213 *ib.*

[2] *Welsh People*, 1900, p. 81: "That men from Ireland invaded Britain at various points and at various times, and further that some of them settled here is not to be disputed . . . This however proves in no wise that there was not previously a Goidelic population in the west of the island." Rhys, whose changes of opinion are apt to confuse one, says earlier (*Arch. Camb.* XII, 1895, p. 21) that he fears he has "gone too far in taking for granted that all our ancient monuments which are in early Goidelic, or show traces of Goidelic influence, as well as other Goidelic traces in South Britain, are to be ascribed to invaders from Ireland or their descendants." "I am inclined to think," he adds *(ib.)*, "that the bulk of the Goidels of whom we find traces on this side of the Irish Sea were the settled inhabitants of the west of this Island, who had kept their own language through the Roman occupation and some time later."

[2] *Welsh People*, 1900, p. 82. "Our hypothesis regards (the Goidelic element in Wales) as for the most part resident and as partly drawn from Ireland, whilst the other (that of Meyer etc.) derives it wholly from Ireland." Cp. Prof. Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, p. 80 n. "Rhys . . . minimises the invasions of Southern Britain (by Irish). Bury emphasises them . . . The decision of the question seems to depend on whether we should regard the Goidelic elements in Western Britain as due in part to an original Goidelic population or ascribe them wholly to Irish immigrants. At present philologists do not seem able to speak with certainty on this point. But the evidence for some amount of invasion seems adequate."

[3] *Romanization of Roman Britain*, 1915, pp. 24—26.

and imperfectly Romanised"[1] districts are just those in which the Goidelic immigrants from the opposite shores of Ireland were likely to have settled, and those in which, as a matter of fact, we have records of their presence in the Roman period. In these districts Irish invaders and established Britons might have fought together without attracting any special notice from the Romans.[2] And we have proof, if proof be wanted, that there were Irish invasions of Britain during the Roman occupation. Eumenius, in the panegyric which he addressed A. D. 296 to Constantius Chlorus,[3] expressly states that the British were at that date accustomed to the attacks of Picts and of Irish (*Hiberni*). We have convincing manuscript tradition of the settlement of the Irish tribe of the Déssi in Demetia in the 3rd century A. D.

Doctor Lloyd says: "Welsh popular tradition has always maintained that the 'Gwyddelod' (Irish) preceded the Welsh in many parts of the country."[4] I have not been able to trace this tradition. So far I have found it referred to only by Theophilus Evans, the writer of *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, by Rev. Basil Jones and by Dr. Owen Pughe in his Dictionary (s. v. *Gwyddel*)[5] Basil Jones speaks of it as "an obscure tradition of an earlier

[1] *Ib.*, p. 80. "(Demetia) was a region which was both thinly inhabited and imperfectly Romanized. In it fugitives from Ireland might easily find room. The settlement [of the Déssi] may have been formed, as Professor Bury suggests, with the consent of the Imperial Government and under conditions of service. But we are entirely ignorant whether these exiles from Ireland numbered tens or scores or hundreds, and this uncertainty renders speculation dangerous. If the newcomers were few and their new homes were in the remote west beyond Carmarthen (Maridunum), formal consent would hardly have been required. Other Irish immigrants probably followed. Their settlements were apparently confined to Cornwall and the south-west coast of Wales, and their influence may easily be over-rated."

[2] Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege*, p. 38. Cp. Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, I, p. 75: "West of Maridunum (Carmarthen) the Romans do not seem to have ordinarily travelled . . . nor have judicious antiquaries been able to find either Roman settlements or Roman Roads in Pembrokeshire. The Demetian Peninsula seems like the Cornish, to have been left to itself."

[3] Quoted by Dr. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, p. 448, n. 14. "Britannia natio etiam tunc nudis, et solis Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cessit." (Incerti Pan. Constantio Caesari, c. 11.)

[4] *Hist. of Wales*, I, p. 111.

[5] Theophilus Evans: *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, 1740 (ed. Guild of Grad., S. J. Evans, 1902, pp. 11 ff); *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, 1851.

race whom they [the Welsh] drove out or made slaves of."[1] On the other hand he lays stress on a fact which, he acknowledges, militates against the theory which Rhys later advocated, "namely that all the traditions of the subject represent the Gwyddyl as invaders,"[2] and again, "we have an absence of traditional evidence in favour of this view [later that of Rhys and his school] among the Welsh and Irish alike except the vague tradition alluded to above."[3] "Such a tradition," writes Meyer, "is not a very old one, as there is never any allusion to it in early Welsh literature, where on the contrary, as we have seen, invasions (*gormesion*) of the Gael only are referred to."[4] "The popular attribution in Wales of early stone- and earth-works to the Gwyddel" he says further, referring to *Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod*, "has no more historical value than the common supposition that similar remains in England owe their origin to the 'Danes' or in Scotland to the 'Picts.'"[5]

CONCLUSION.

To sum up, the Goidels came from Gaul direct to Ireland, not across Great Britain. The idea of an overland route from the continent to Ireland is a modern one and due to modern conditions. The direct route from West Gaul to Ireland was in use up to the 12th century, and we can trace it back to the first century of our era. In the classical writers who are our authorities for the history of Roman Britain we find nothing to indicate the presence of an original Goidelic population in the four extensive districts to which Rhys assigns them. Therefore whatever Goidelic elements are found in Britain in the historical period must be attributed to invasions and settlements of Goidels from Ireland. "Whether we take history for our guide, or native tradition, or philology, we are led to no other conclusion but this: that no Gael ever set his foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put out from Ireland."[6]

[1] *Vestiges, etc.*, p. 49.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 53.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 49.
[4] *Trans. Cymmrod*, 1895—1896, p. 69. The W. *gormesion* means "oppressions."
[5] *Ib.*, p. 68, n.
[6] Meyer, *Trans. Cymm.* 1895—1896, p. 69.

II. HISTORICAL RELATIONS OF IRELAND AND WALES

PROBABLE PREHISTORIC RELATIONS

We have examined the theory of an original Goidelic population in Britain, and, relying on the evidence of classical writers, early tradition and recent archaeological researches, we are forced to reject it. Thus the Goidelic element in Britain was derived wholly from Goidels in Ireland, in the intercourse between them and the Britons of Britain. There is this grain of truth underlying the theory of Rhys: the Goidels of Ireland must have been in close and constant relations with the Britons of the opposite coast of Britain from a very early period. Such intercourse was rendered inevitable by mere proximity.[1] "In earlier times," says Zimmer, "intercourse between Britons in the South-West and Irish in South Ireland must have been easier and safer than intercourse with such of their own fellow-countrymen as lived inland at an equal distance."[2] We must remember, too, that the coast of Ireland is visible in clear weather from at least three points on the west coast of Britain, from Argyle where an Irish colony was early established, from Anglesey and the peninsula of Lleyn,[3] and from the promon-

[1] *Cp.* Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 11.

[2] Zimmer, *Celtic Church*, p. 16.

[3] As Rhys first pointed out (*Arch. Camb.*, 5th series, vol. IX, p. 72, 1892), the name Lleyn is the Irish nom. pl. *Laigin*, "Leinstermen," as the name Porth Din Llaen (the harbour of the fort of the Leinstermen) contains the gen. pl. *Lagen*. So also Zimmer (*Auf welchem Wege*, p. 35) who compares with this development of the nom. pl. of the word denoting the inhabitants of a country to denote the country itself such words as Wales, Cymru, Rhufein and the Irish Uí Maine, Ulaidh etc. It is extremely probable that the promontory of Lleyn derived its name from a colony of Irish from the opposite-lying Leinster. Basil Jones notes two instances of place-names containing the element Gwyddel in the promontory of Lleyn (*Vestiges*, p. 38). The question is also discussed by Prof. J. Lloyd Jones in *Random Remarks on Place-Names*, a paper contributed to the *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society*, 1920 (p. 46). In the same paper (p. 45) Prof. Lloyd Jones discusses the equation of the Welsh name for the Snowdon region viz. Gwynedd, with the Irish *fine*, a tribe or sept. The equation, if sound, would indicate a Goidelic occupation of the Snowdon district.

tory of St. David's, whence William Rufus is said to have seen the Irish coast and felt impelled to attempt the conquest of the country.

At what precise period the Goidels first crossed the narrow strip of sea to these points is a question which cannot be determined. Our first records of invasions of Irish on the west shore of Britain are for the 3rd century A. D. But obviously the record of these invasions in the 3rd century does not prove that Goidelic immigrants had not previously sailed across the Irish Sea and plundered or made settlements in Britain. It is quite probable that there was intercourse between West Britain and the smaller island even before the immigration of the Celts to either Iverion or Albion. The material for some of the Bronze Age ornaments in Britain was undoubtedly obtained from the gold deposits in that country. But many of the ornaments must have been made from gold that had been gained by force or barter in the Irish El Dorado.[1] It seems improbable that the early inhabitants of Ireland, whose commerce with Scandinavia in the Bronze Age has been proved and who carried on a brisk direct trade with West Gaul from an even earlier period, should have held no communication with their neighbours in Britain, a land the shores of which were actually visible. Ireland had little, if any, native tin, whilst the mines of neighbouring Cornwall were rich in it.[2] Ireland was already renowned for her gold deposits; she exported gold to Scandinavia. It is not rash, therefore, to conjecture that there was intercourse of a commercial nature between eastern Ireland and the opposite coast of Britain from prehistoric times, during the Bronze Age, the Iron Age and in the pre-Roman period.[3]

[1] In this connection it may be noted that in Anglesey in particular the Bronze Age remains are remarkably like relics of a similar period in Ireland. Cp. *Arch. Camb.* 1866, p. 97, *Notice of Ancient Relics found at Llangwyllog in Anglesey*, and *Arch. Camb.* 1868, p. 385, *On the Remains of Ancient Circular Habitations on Holyhead Island*, by Hon. W. D. Stanley M. P. where he says: "The bronze weapons in the huts were mainly of Irish type."

[2] See Coffey, *Bronze Age in Ireland*, p. 55, for the distribution of gold lunulae, which seems to indicate Irish trade with Cornwall (copper and tin) and Brittany (tin), in prehistoric times.

[3] *Cp.* Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 10—11: "We have but lately begun to realise the frequency and prevalence of intercourse by sea before historical records begin. . . It is absurd to suppose that the Celtic conquerors of Britain and of Iverne

EARLY GOIDELIC INVASIONS OF BRITAIN

The earliest record of Irish invasions of Britain occurs in the panegyric addressed to Constantius Chlorus, A. D. 296, in which the Irish are called *Hiberni*.[1] *Scotti*, however, is the usual name applied to these Irish marauders by Latin writers. There seems to have been three main devastations of Britain by Picts and Scots in the early centuries of our era. The first took place in the time of Theodosius. We have a notice of invasions of Scots who made common cause with the Picts in Northern Britain for the year A. D. 360.[2] Again for the years 365 and 368 Ammian reports Scots and Picts as undertaking plundering expeditions in Northern Britain.[3] About the same time as Ammian, Julius Honorius notes that the Goidels of Ireland had possession of the Isle of Man.[4] These Scots who thus in the 4th century joined with Picts in resisting Roman rule in North Britain were probably Northern Irish from the modern counties of Down and Antrim. We may believe that their southern brethren were not less active and that parallel attempts were made to obtain a footing in those other districts of West Britain which were visible from the Irish coast.[5] This devastation of Britain was ended by the campaigns of Theodosius. According to Professor Bury, the well-known passage in Claudian "suggests that Theodosius pursued the Scots across the sea, or at least made a naval demonstration in the Irish channel."[6]

The next great devastation of Britain by Scots is that which followed the usurpation of the tyrant Maximus, and his withdrawal of the troops to Gaul. The 6th century Gildas gives us a graphic account of these almost continuous invasions.

burned their ships when they had reached the island shore and cut themselves off from intercourse with the mainland from which they had crossed. And we may be sure that it was not they who first established regular communication. We may be sure that the pre-Celtic peoples of South Britain and the Ivernians who gave its name to Ireland knew the waterways to the coasts of the continent." *A fortiori*, we may assume intercourse between Ireland and Britain.

[1] Quoted *supra*, p. 33.

[2] Ammian, Lib. XX, 1.

[3] Lib. XXV, 4; XXVII, 8.

[4] See Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege*, p. 40.

[5] *Ib.* p. 41.

[6] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, App. C, p. 325.

Gildas cannot in any sense be called a historian; but his work, *De Excidio Britanniae*, undoubtedly contains much of historical value for the period to which it refers, and, due allowance being made for the inflated style of the fervent monk, we may consider the picture he gives us as one which is in the main reliable. The Picts, Gildas says, came from the north (*a aquilone*), the Scots from the north-west (*a circione*, c. 14). He describes the Scots coming in coracles across the sea valley "just as when the sun is high and the heat increasing, dark swarms of worms emerge from the narrow crevices of their holes."[1] Rescue for the Britons came with the general Stilicho after the fall of Maximus, and the Romans and Britons "quickly put the hordes of the enemy to flight beyond the sea."[2] Further Gildas tells us that these expeditions were in search of plunder: "it was beyond the seas that they, with no one to resist, used to heap up the plunder greedily acquired by them year by year;"[3] and according to another passage, these enemies were wont to settle down throughout the country.[4]

The next great devastation of Britain by Scots is that which followed the withdrawal of the legions from Britain. The Picts and Scots were not slow to seize the favourable opportunity. This is the "second devastation" recorded by Gildas. According to Professor Bury the narrative of Gildas regarding this devastation "does not correspond to the course of events as we gather it from the scanty contemporary sources, but we can see how it is based on actual occurrences."[5]

The piratical descents of Irish chieftains upon Britain in the early centuries seem to have been in the nature of slave-hunting expeditions. Meyer refers to the constant mention of British slaves in Ireland which we find in the Lives of 5th and 6th century saints. In the *Life of St. Ailbe* we read that he was given in fosterage to British slaves in Ireland.[6] Thus too,

[1] Prof. H. Williams's edition of Gildas, c. 19, p. 45.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.* c. 17, p. 37.

[4] "delere et habitare *solito more* a fine usque ad terminum regionem."

[5] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 330. In this view of the Scottish attacks as forming three main devastations I follow Prof. Bury.

[6] "Lochanus hic filius Lugir quibusdam Britonibus Christianis, qui in famulatu fuerunt, dedit sanctum puerum et ipsi diligenter nutrierunt eum." Vit Albei, I, quoted from posthumous papers of Zimmer by Meyer, *Learning in Ireland, etc.*, p. 25, n. 27.

St. Patrick was carried off with numerous others from his home in Bannaventa by a band of ravaging Scots.[1]

SETTLEMENT OF DÉSSI

The activity of the *Scotti* from Ireland during the Roman period was not confined to mere invasions and raids in search of slaves and material wealth. The freebooters, as Gildas noted, settled down in the country. We have reliable evidence of one such settlement made in the latter half of the 3rd century.

An old Irish prose tale, which has come down to us in several versions, tells of the *Expulsion of the Déssi*,[2] an old Irish tribe whose name still survives in the name of their ancient home, the district of Deece (the baronies of Upper and Lower Deece in Co. Meath) and the district of Decies (Co. Waterford). This tribe was expelled from its original home in Magh Breagh by King Cormac mac Airt. A number of them subsequently migrated under the leadership of Eochaid son of Artchorp across the sea to Demet (Demetia, Mod. W. Dyfed). Here they settled down and their leader Eochaid was henceforth known as Eochaid Allmuir (Beyond the Sea). They seem to have made a permanent conquest in this region for the tale then proceeds to trace the posterity of this Eochaid Allmuir down to one Teudor mac Regin who was reigning in Dyfed at the time the tale was written.

This early Irish tale and the pedigree of Teudor mac Regin might well be regarded with suspicion were it not that we find it corroborated in an astonishing manner by an independent source. Egerton Phillimore has published a Welsh pedigree of Elen the mother of Owen son of Howel Dda, from an 11th century MS. in the British Museum.[3] "In this pedigree for eleven generations the name of Teudor's ancestors tally with those of the Irish account. The only differences are in the

[1] *Trip. Life*, pp. 438—9. For all these early invasions, etc., cp. summary by Vendryes in his *De Hibernicis Vocabulis*, pp. 14—19.

[2] Edited and translated by Meyer, *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV, pp. 104—135, 1901; other versions are edited by him in *Eriu*, III, pp. 135—142, 1907, and in *Anecdota from Irish MSS.* I, pp. 15—24. Zimmer, who first pointed out the value of this tale and printed an extract from it in *Nenn. Vind.*, p. 85, fixed the date of the composition of the Rawlinson and Laud texts as about A. D. 750.

[3] Harl. 3859, ed. Eg. Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, IX, p. 171.

spelling, and indeed when we consider that these Welsh names passed through the hands of who knows how many Irish scribes, one must marvel that they have presreved their form so well."[1] Thus, in the light of the evidence of independent Irish and Welsh sources the settlement of the Déssi in Dyfed in the late 3rd century must be regarded as a well-authenticated historical fact.

As Haverfield has pointed out, this settlement of the Déssi in Dyfed might well have taken place without attracting any particular attention from the Roman garrison in Wales.[2] On the other hand the Irish fugitives who thus obtained sway in Dyfed cannot have been weak in numbers. And a large colony could hardly have escaped the notice of the Romans. Bury suggests that the Roman government here pursued a definite policy similar to that pursued in other parts of the Roman Empire; that the settlement of the Déssi and probably many other unrecorded settlements were made with the consent of the Romans and perhaps under certain conditions of military service.[3]

IRISH TRADITIONS OF EARLY INVASIONS

In this connection we may refer to the plausible theory put forward by Zimmer, namely that the Atecotti of Latin writers were Goidelic soldiers recruited in Britain for the Roman army.[4] We find mention of these Atecotti in Latin writers side by side with the Picti and Scotti who ravaged Britain in those centuries (3rd—5th). Ammian first mentions the Atecotti with the Scotti. In later writers of the 4th—5th centuries the name is applied to soldiers in Roman service. Zimmer argues with much plausibility that they were so named because the first batch of Goidelic recruits for the Roman army belonged to the tribe known as Atecotti. Thus the name Atecotti in the late period denoted Goidelic soldiers in the Roman service and Scotti the bands of Irish invaders against whom the Romans fought in Britain. The Atecotti whom St. Jerome as a boy saw in Gaul were Irish recruited in Britain.

[1] Meyer, *Early Relations of Gael and Brython*, p. 58.

[2] *Romanization of Roman Britain*, p. 80. See *supra*, pp. 32—33.

[3] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 14.

[4] *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 41—47.

Thus Zimmer would explain the Irish tradition of the death of King Niall Nóigiallach and that of his successor, Dathi or Nathi. Niall ruled 379—405, and according to the source from which Keating and the Four Masters drew "he fell by Eochaid son of Enda Cennselach at the Ictian Sea, *i. e.* the sea between France and England." (*Dorochair la hEochaid mac Enna Cendsealaig occ Muir nIcht .i. an mhuir edir Franc ocus Saxan*, F.M. 405.) The nephew and successor of Niall, Dathi mac Fiachrach, is said to have been killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps (*sliab Elpa*, LU. 38a), whilst fighting against Faramandus, King of the Franks (*Formenus ri Tracia* in the Irish tale[1]).

Kuno Meyer, however, states his belief that the account of Niall's expedition to Alba contains "a reminiscence of Irish invasions of Britain at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century."[2] "O'Donovan (F. M., p. 127, n. 2) indeed," says Meyer, "has no hesitation in identifying Niall with the Irish leader against whose attacks Stilicho had to defend himself; and perhaps the statement of the Annals that Niall was slain *oc muir n-Icht* 'by the sea of Wight' *i. e.* the English Channel, is based on fact." The antiquary, Cinaed ua Artacain, who died in 975, says in a poem on the grave of Niall that that king had gone "seven times across the swift sea." In the three extant versions of the tale of Niall's death,[3] Niall is represented as carrying his arm victoriously to Brittany (or Latium? Ir. *Letha*), to Italy and to the Alps (*slëibi Elpa*). On this Meyer comments as follows: "That Alba (O.-Ir. *Alpe*) in the oldest Irish texts means Great Britain (Albion), not Scotland, has been repeatedly shown. The legendary extension of Niall's conquests to the continent may be variously explained. It was no doubt facilitated by confusion of *Alpe* (Great Britain) with *sliab Alpa* (*Elpa*) or *sliab Ailp* (LL. 136a, 45, 46, 50) 'the Alps,' and by the desire to let the Irish monarch appear as 'King of the western world' (*ri iarthair domuin*). But originally it may have been due to the fact that the existence of Romans

[1] The Irish tale (from LU. 38a) is printed and translated into German by Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 42—45.

[2] *Otia Merseiana*. II, p. 84. See also *Aided Neill Noigiallaig* (Stowe MS. c. i. 2) edited by Meyer, *Archiv fur Celt. Lexik.*, III, pp. 323—324.

[3] Found in Yellow Book of Lecan, Book of Ballymote and Rawlinson B 502, and edited by Meyer in *Otia Merseiana*, II, pp. 84 ff.

in Britain[1] had become unintelligible to Irish tradition."[2] Further Meyer says: "The mention of Roman hostages may perhaps be traced to an original account in which Niall's conflicts with the Romans in Britain were described, but in Britain itself our versions substitute the Saxons for the Romans."[3] Niall is said to have been slain by an arrow shot by an old enemy of his, Echu mac Ennai Censelaig, "among the bards of the Pict-folk" (*etir barddu Cruthentuaithe*). Meyer points out that this may be "a reminiscence of the time when the Irish were the allies of the Picts in their raids against Romans and Britons."

Professor Bury, too, believes that Niall, whose reign coincided with the period of Maximus' rebellion, "may possibly have joined in the marauding expeditions which vexed Britain during those years."[4] "If the date assigned to his death (405) is roughly correct," he adds, "this last hosting of Niall was made before the Roman army had finally left the island, but during the disorders which preceded its departure."[5]

EARLY BRITONS IN IRELAND

It can hardly be assumed that these invasions and settlements were altogether one-sided, that while the Irish crossed the sea to plunder and colonise modern Argyle, Wales and Cornwall, the Britons on their side made no reprisals. Irish tradition and archaeology alike forbid such a view. It may even be questioned whether the Britons did not take the initiative in their plundering expeditions. Ptolemy vouches for the presence in Ireland before the Christian era of British tribes, the Brigantes and the Menapii.[6] Zimmer regards these British peoples as having crossed from Britain to Ireland.[7] On the

[1] Niall's taking of hostages from the Romans is mentioned in the text.

[2] *Otia Merseiana*, II, p. 84, n. 1.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 85.

[4] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 25.

[5] *Ib.*, p. 26. Cp. *ib.*, p. 331: "His (*sc.* Niall's) last incursion into Britain may be regarded as the historical foundation of the 'second devastation' of Gildas."

[6] For Belgic Celts in Ireland cp. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, II, p. 283.

[7] *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 30, 52. According to Zimmer the Goidels and Brythons were two distinct Celtic tribes who came to the British Isles at different periods and from different parts of Gaul, the Brythons to Albion, the Goidels direct to Iverion. The advancing Brythons who could see the coast of Ireland

other hand, some scholars maintain that the British tribes in Ireland came direct from the Continent to that country.

In this connection, Coffey quotes the story of Labraid Loingseach (the Exile) returning to Ireland with an army of Gauls in 300 ships.[1] Labraid had taken refuge in Gaul amongst the men of Menia, identified by D'Arbois de Jubainville with Menapia in Belgic Gaul. The army landed on the east coast of Ireland, and the storyteller adds that it was from the broad blue lances (*laigne*) of these Gaulish warriors that the Leinstermen (*Laigin*) were named. The date of this invasion by Labraid and his allies is put variously at 500 B.C., 542 B.C., and 300 B.C. in various versions of the tale. Coffey regards this 12th century story as a tradition of the coming of the Menapii to Leinster. The Brigantes whom Ptolemy places to the south of the Menapii, Coffey considers as a branch of the Brigantes located by Ptolemy at Bregans on the east of Lake Constance, coming directly from the continent to Ireland.

It is remarkable that we have no evidence for the presence of Menapii in Britain. If these peoples had actually crossed to south-east Ireland from Britain, one would expect to find them situated in the promontory of Pembrokeshire. The Brigantes of Britain are located in North Britain, about modern Yorkshire and Lancashire, whilst in Ireland they are found to the south.

Coming on to a later period, undoubted proof of intercourse of some sort, warlike or peaceful, is found in the number of Roman coins which have come to light in recent times in Ireland.[2] The coins have been found in abundance all along the eastern coast. In 1831, two hundred Roman coins, extending in date from Vespasian A. D. 70 to the Antonines A. D. 160, were found at the Giants' Causeway. At Coleraine, some years later, two thousand Roman coins of the 4th and 5th centuries

from the promontory of St. David's felt impelled to attempt the conquest of that land. But they found a Celtic people, the Goidels, already in possession; and the projected conquest of the island dwindled to a mere settlement of one or two tribes on the eastern coast. In the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D. these tribes were gradually assimilated by the Goidelic population.

[1] Coffey, *Intercourse of Gaul etc.*, pp. 99ff.

[2] See *Proc. R. I. A.*, II, pp. 184—190; V, p. 199; VI, pp. 442, 525. Vendryes (*De Hibernicis Vocabulis*) suggests that these coins were the payment for Irish slaves bought by Britons in Ireland.

were discovered.[1] In these coins Prof. G. T. Stokes would see evidence of naval expeditions by Roman officers stationed at Chester and the Clyde.[2] But although Tacitus records Agricola's desire to conquer Ireland we find no notice of an attempted invasion of the island in any Roman writer. Possibly the coins came to Ireland by way of commerce with Britain in the early centuries. Possibly British fugitives may have carried their treasure across. But more probably we have here the hoarded booty of the Irish marauders of the 3rd—5th centuries. "It was beyond the seas," wrote Gildas, "that they, meeting with resistance from none, used to heap up the plunder greedily acquired by them year by year."

The Britons on their side were hardly less active in pillaging and ravaging the Irish shores during the early centuries of our era, generally in search of slaves. A typical instance is preserved in the *Letter to Coroticus* of St. Patrick.[3] "L'expédition de Coroticus," remarks Loth, "n'est qu'un épisode, et non le plus important, d'une longue histoire de guerres et de pillages."[4]

CORMAC'S GLOSSARY

Besides the Irish tale of the expulsion of the Déssi, we possess two other important documents giving evidence of Irish and Welsh relations in these early centuries. They are the Irish glossary ascribed to Cormac mac Cuilennáin who died A. D. 907, and the *Historia Brittonum* of the early 9th century South Welsh historian, Nennius.

The passage in Cormac's Glossary[5] occurs under the word *Mug-éme*, and is as follows:

"*Mug-éme*, *i. e.* 'slave of hilt,' was the name of the first lap-dog which was in Ireland. Coirpre Musc [an Irish chieftain,

[1] It was Scotti from N.-E. Ireland who allied themselves with the Picts of N. Britain to fight against Roman rule.

[2] G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 16.

[3] *Haddan and Stubbs*, II, pp. 314—319. For the identification of Coroticus with Ceretic Guletic of Strathclyde see Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 126, n. 8.

[4] *Bretons Insulaires en Irlande*, RC. XVIII, pp. 304 ff.

[5] Translated into German by Zimmer, *Nenn. Vind.*; translated by Meyer with corrections of Zimmer's version, *Early Relations of Gael and Brython*, pp. 59—61. The Irish text of Cormac's Glossary has been edited by W. Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*; and translated in O'Donovan's *Sanas Chormaic* (edited by W. Stokes).

whose father, Conaire, over-king of Ireland died according to the *Annals*, A. D. 165] first brought one into Ireland, out of the land of the Britons. For at that time great was the power of the Gaels over the Britons. They had divided Alba [*i. e.* Albion, Great Britain] among them into estates, and each of them knew his friend's abode. And the Gaels used to dwell to the east of the sea [*i. e.* from a South Irish point of view, the Irish Sea] not less than in Scotia [*i. e.* Ireland]. And their dwellings and their royal forts were built there. Hence is said Dind Tradui *i. e.* [in Irish] Dún Tradui, that is, the triple foss of Crimthann the Great, son of Fidach, king of Ireland and Albion as far as the Ictian Sea [Crimthann was over-king of Ireland A. D. 366—378]. And hence is Glastonbury of the Gael,[1] a church on the Brue. And there also in the lands of the Cornish Britons stands Dind map Letan, *i. e.* the fort of the sons of Liethan, for 'mac,' son, is the same as 'map' in the British. Thus every tribe divided on that side, for its property on the east was equal to that on the west, and they long continued in that power even after the coming of Patrick. Hence Coirpre Musc was paying a visit in the east to his family and to his friends."[2]

[1] An Irish tradition connected St. Patrick with Glastonbury. In the *Félire Oéngussa* we get a note to this effect: "Patrick Senior (*Senpatraic*), *i. e.* from Ross-dela in Meath, in Magh-locha; *vel quod uerius est* Patrick Senior is [buried] in Glastonbury of the Gaels (*Glastimber na nGoedel*) in the south-west of England, *Scotti enim prius in peregrinatione ibi habitabant*" (cp. ed. Stokes, H. B. Soc. xxix, p. 187; and also *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II, 321). According to Bury (*On a Life of St. Patrick*, R. I. A. Trans. 1903, pp. 64 ff.) the Glastonbury legend of Patrick "is in itself evidence for the intercourse in the early middle ages between South-western Britain and Ireland. For the fact that the West-Saxon monks, when they set about discovering a pre-Saxon history for their foundation, thought of linking themselves with the great Irish saint is a very strong proof of Irish influence. It is indeed probable that traditions connecting Patrick with S.-W. Britain were already current and prepared the way for the shaping of the Glastonian myth. Such legends would naturally arise through intercourse with Ireland and the visits of Irish monks to whose imagination they may have been directly due" (*loc. cit.* p. 217). One of the "islands" of Glastonbury was called Beckerie or Bekeria, glossed "parva Ybernia." This is clearly for Beg Ériu, Beggery Island in Wexford Harbour. (E. McClure, *British Place-Names in their Historical Setting*, p. 205.)

[2] As Zimmer (*Nenn. Vind.*, p. 90) has pointed out, this historical digression of Cormac was no doubt by way of explanation to 9th—10th centuries Irishmen, who, living in the Viking period, the period of Ireland's weakness, were bound to be sceptical of facts recorded of an earlier and more prosperous period.

Kuno Meyer, whose translation I quote, has dealt fully with this passage of Cormac's Glossary, and especially he has emphasised the fact that Alba denoted, up to about the 11th century, Britain and not Scotland. Here Cormac states, first, that the power of the Irish over the Britons was great in the 2nd century and that the Irish dwelt in Britain not less than in Ireland; second, that the Irish had forts and dwellings in Britain, in proof of which he cites the *Dind Tradui* of Crimthann Mór, "Glastonbury of the Gael" and *Dind map Letan* (in Cornwall); and third, that the power of the Irish in Britain lasted up to and after the 5th century.

NENNIUS

The Irish account of Cormac is confirmed by a passage in the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius. In this passage Nennius tells us that the sons of Liethan (*filii Liethan*) had taken possession of parts of South Wales, Dyfed and the districts of Gower and Kidwelly.[1] Zimmer has proved that the further remark in the *Historia* as to the expulsion of the Goidels *ab omnibus Brittannicis regionibus* is due to a blundering combination by Nennius of his two sources, the Irish source and that of the Saxon Genealogies.[2] Cunedda and his sons drove the Irish out of Gwynedd, but not from other British regions, neither from South Wales nor from North Britain (Scotland).

FATE OF IRISH SETTLEMENTS

It will be well to give here Meyer's summary of this early period of Irish and Welsh intercourse.

"We have the concurrent testimony of Irish and Welsh tradition that, from the 2nd century of our era till the 6th, a series of partial conquests of Britain took place, some only of a temporary character, others more lasting. These Irish invasions seem to have been directed mainly against three points of Britain, exactly where, looking at the map, we should

[1] *Hist. Britt.* ed. Mommsen, p. 156: "Filii autem Liethan obtinuerunt in regione Demetorum et in aliis regionibus, id est Guir et Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cuneda et a filiis eius ab omnibus Brittannicis regionibus."

[2] Zimmer, *Nenn. Vind.*, p. 92; cp. also Meyer, *Relations between Gael and Brython*, p. 61.

naturally expect them; namely where the coast of Britain projects towards Ireland, and where, in clear weather, the land is plainly visible from the sister isle. In the south-west the peninsula of Dyfed invited an invasion from the opposite coast of Munster. The second point of attack was no doubt the peninsula of Lleyn and the Isle of Anglesea; and the third, as is well-known, was the peninsula of Cantire, where, towards the end of the 5th century, the tribe of the Dal Riata from the opposite coast of Antrim obtained a firm footing. The ultimate fate of these three invasions has been a different one in every case. In the south no expulsion seems to have taken place. The Gaels here lost their supremacy and became gradually amalgamated with their Brythonic surroundings, losing their nationality and their speech. The Gaelic invaders in Carnarvon and Anglesea were vanquished and expelled shortly before 400 by Cunedda and his sons who had left their northern home in Manaw Gododin and settled in Gwynedd. In Scotland alone the Goidelic conquest was destined to be permanent."[1]

With these conclusions Zimmer is in agreement.[2] He lays stress on the fact that these invasions were primarily due to a movement of expansion which took place among the Goidels of Ireland in the 3rd century, leading them to take a more active share in the affairs of neighbouring Britain. "Irish tradition knows," says Zimmer, "that this expansive movement of the Goidels was brought to a stop in the 5th century through the effects of the invasions of the Angles and Saxons in the east of Britain, in consequence of which the fugitive Britons from the east gathered together in the three southern districts, the west coast of Wales and the peninsula lying to the south of the Bristol channel: where actual Goidelic rule existed, it was broken down, and the weak Goidelic population was merged linguistically in the influx of native British population, just as the Franks and Burgundians in Gaul were merged in the Romance-speaking peoples."[3] This assimilation of the Goidelic population by the conquering Britons began in the

[1] Meyer, *Early Relations between Gael and Brython*, pp. 65—66.

[2] Cp. *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 51—52.

[3] *Auf welchem Wege*, p. 37. The tradition referred to by Zimmer is no doubt that in Cormac's Glossary quoted *supra*, where Irish relations between S.-W. Britain are said to have lasted "even after the coming of Patrick."

5th century, but Goidelic speech probably continued till a later period. It may well be the language of these early settlers of the 3rd—5th centuries that we find in the Goidelic inscriptions in Wales and Cornwall in the 6th—7th centuries.[1]

CHRISTIANISATION OF IRELAND

Zimmer has dealt exhaustively with the origin and early history of Christianity in Ireland, and has proved that there were already Christians in Ireland in A. D. 431.[2] Prosper Tiro in his Chronicle expressly states that in the year A. D. 431 "Palladius, ordained by Pope Celestine, is sent as first Bishop to the Irish believing in Christ." Further, the very records which accept the legend of Patrick as Apostle to the Gentiles in Ireland, Lives of Saints, chiefly those of Declan, Ailbe, Ibar, Kieran and Abban, yield proof of pre-Patrician Christianity in the South of Ireland. These saints were older contemporaries of Patrick and their cult is preserved in numerous local names and traditions in the area in which they worked, the south-eastern coast, in Wicklow, Wexford and Waterford, and the two inland counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. "In the natural course of things, Christianity would first be introduced from south-western Britain, Waterford and Wexford being at all times the chief harbours for trade and intercourse with the sister island."[3] The theory that the southern portion of the isle was already Christian at this period is supported by the fact that the earliest lives of Patrick make no mention of his activity in this region, though his work throughout the rest of the island (Connacht, Ulster, Meath) is described with great fullness. "Zimmer concludes that about A.D. 330 south Ireland was still mainly a pagan country in which isolated [Christian] Britons, mostly probably slaves,[4] lived and taught; but that in

[1] This seems to be the view taken by Zimmer. Cp. *Nenn. Vind.*, p. 86. See *infra* p. 61.

[2] *Celtic Church*, pp. 7—43. Cp. Meyer's summary of Zimmer's posthumous papers on the subject in *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century*, p. 25, n. 27. For refutation of Zimmer's Patrician theory see Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 384 ff.

[3] *Learning in Ireland*, p. 25, n. 27.

[4] The continuous invasions of Britain by Scotti in the 4th century must have brought many Christian captives to Ireland. "In the conversion of this island (Ireland), as elsewhere," writes Prof. Bury (*Life of St. Patrick*, p. 14), "captives played the part of missionaries."

the course of that century Christianity obtained a firm footing in the south-east through the labours of some prominent Irish converts, of whom the five named above were the most successful."[1] Thus in A. D. 431 Ireland was certainly in part Christian. This Christianity, as we should expect, came, for the most part, from Britain. Certain linguistic facts prove this in an unequivocal manner. We have in Old Irish a number of loanwords, ecclesiastical terms and words bearing on general civilisation, introduced from Latin into Irish, the Irish sounds of which are explicable only on the hypothesis that they reached Irish ears from the mouths of British Celts.[2]

The reigning hypothesis is that Christianity came to Ireland from Britain and only from Britain. The 5th century Christian church of Ireland is regarded as a daughter-church, as it were, of the British, originating and developing in the natural intercourse of the two nations, British and Irish. This natural hypothesis is powerfully supported by the argument of the Latin loanwords, and its acceptance is further facilitated by the popular view of Britain as the natural channel for all the material and intellectual culture of Ireland. But we have seen that in early times Britain was not the natural source of the culture or material civilisation of Ireland. Before the conquest of Britain by the Romans, Ireland derived her share of continental culture exclusively through direct intercourse with West-Gaulish harbours. To this direct route to which Tacitus testifies there was added, from the 2nd to the 5th century, a rival route, as it were, from the Continent to Ireland through Britain. The route across Britain, however, caused little discontinuance of the older direct connection between Gaul and Ireland which lasted down to the middle ages. It is highly probable that some amount of Christianity came to Ireland by this direct route, just as, in the 3rd century, Christianity advanced by natural intercourse from South Gaul to the Rhine and to Britain. By this direct route Christian Gauls must undoubtedly have come to Ireland. The exodus of Gaulish scholars from the Continent to Ireland took place in the first and second

[1] *Learning in Ireland*, pp. 25—26.

[2] Zimmer has shown (*Celtic Church*, p. 21) that it is "highly probable" that these loanwords, the oldest layer of Latin loanwords in Irish, were introduced into Irish by Britons before the first half of the 5th century.

decades of the 5th century.[1] "Had Ireland been wholly pagan at this period, it would hardly have been chosen by Christian men as a safe asylum."[2] There are moreover many characteristics in the Irish Church of A. D. 500—1000 which appear puzzling and even inexplicable if we accept the theory that the Irish Church was wholly an offshoot of the British, but which are easily explained by influence of the Church of Gaul.[3]

Throughout the 5th century the Irish Church flourished, whilst at this period the British Church suffered eclipse, the attacks of Picts and Scots in the North and West and the invasions of heathen Angles and Saxons on the East contributing to its decay. Owing to the ever-increasing activities of these Angles and Saxons, the political conditions of Britain underwent a complete transformation in this century. Christianity lost its hold on the East and found a refuge among the Britons who maintained their independence in the mountainous regions of the West. The lurid picture given by Gildas of this period is certainly overdrawn, but we may reasonably assume that the 5th century was one of partial eclipse for the Christian Church in Britain. On the other hand in Ireland, secure from heathen foes, the Church was at its most flourishing point. The reputation for learning of Irish monks and clerics spread to the Continent.

There is a widespread belief that the Irish Church founded by St. Patrick, the so-called "missionary to the Gentiles in Ireland,"[4] was episcopal in its organisation, that in the first century of its existence it went through a period of decay and complete collapse, and that by the 6th century it was fundamentally reorganised as a monastic church by means of a revival from outside. Zimmer maintains that this theory of a complete collapse of the Irish Church and its subsequent re-

[1] *Learning in Ireland*, p. 6.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 9. The majority of these fugitives were certainly Christian for by the beginning of the 5th century paganism was rapidly disappearing in Gaul.

[3] Cp. Zimmer, *Sitzungsberichte etc.*, 1909, pp. 550 ff.

[4] Zimmer maintains that the "Patrick-legend" arose in Ireland in the 7th century, under the influence of a specific tendency. Just as the Saxons had their Augustine of Canterbury, the Piets their Columba of Hi, so the Irish, with the help of Patrick's own writings and documents, created for themselves a national Apostle to the Gentiles.

vival due to the influence of the British Church and especially to such men as Gildas, Cadocus and David, is untenable.

The theory is based on three very insecure foundations: the statement in a *Life of Gildas* (written in the 11th century) concerning his work in Ireland; the *Catalogue of Irish Saints* which was written in the 8th century after the Patrick-legend had arisen; and the notes of some *Lives of the Saints* written in the 10th and 11th centuries. Such a hypothesis is irreconcilable with the prosperous condition of Irish Christianity in the 6th century. It is certain that Gildas visited Ireland on ecclesiastical business in A. D. 566, during the reign of King Ainmire. The monk of Rhuys would have us believe that at this period Ireland was in a state of semi-paganism which had to be remedied by Gildas. From this semi-pagan land, Columba had gone forth as a missionary to Iona three years before Gildas's alleged re-evangelisation. In 522 St. Brendan founded the monastery of Clonfert; about 554 St. Comgall found the monastery of Bangor in Ulster; about 546 St. Columbanus founded the monastery of Derry and a few years later that of Durrow. In the year 548 died St. Finnian of Clonard, the father of "the twelve apostles of Ireland," who had corresponded with Gildas concerning rules of monastic discipline. These are the men who directed the Irish Church at the period when it is supposed to have been in a state of decay. It seems incredible, too, that the British Church of the early 6th century which Gildas depicts in such gloomy colours should have taken a share in the regeneration of the Irish Church. And had it done so, we should not expect the episcopal British Church to have reorganised in Ireland an entirely monastic church which showed no traces of an episcopal organisation.

There is a possible explanation of the statements in the *Life of Gildas* and in the other Lives of Saints. In the 9th century the Irish Church in Ireland and in North Britain suffered from the plundering hordes of Norwegian and Danish heathens. The whole Viking period had undoubtedly a deep influence on the Irish Church. It may well be that these 10th and 11th century hagiographers confused the conditions of the 9th and 10th centuries with those of the earlier period.[1]

[1] M. L'Abbé Gougaud, *Chrétientés Celtiques*, p. 81 n. Cp. Zimmer, *Celtic Church*, pp. 63 ff.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTERCOURSE

That Irish monks and clerics, however, had a share in the rebuilding of the Christian Church of Britain is more than probable. The Irish ecclesiastics of this period were distinguished by their *consuetudo peregrinandi*. When the Irish monasteries grew into large colonies, groups of three, seven or twelve monks separated themselves from their brethren and sought elsewhere the solitude they could no longer enjoy in those busy communities. They fled to the islets in the lakes and rivers, later to the islands along the coasts, finally risking long voyages in frail boats to the Hebrides, the Orkneys, the Shetland Islands and even to Iceland. Parallel with this movement on water was one on land. Western Wales, both north and south, the territory of the old Dumnonii (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset), and the new home of the Dumnonii in the Armorican peninsula were the places where these monks sought solitude.[1] It often happened indeed that the hermit abandoned the idea of a solitary life of prayer and devoted himself to the teaching of those around him. Some founded monasteries on the model of those in Ireland. Irish and Welsh monks and clerics lived and worked side by side in the same communities. Welsh monks visited the Irish monasteries for purposes of study, and founded monasteries in Ireland. Irish pilgrims returning from Rome via Britain turned aside to visit the monastery of Menevia and to pay honour to the great St. David.

Of this close and constant intercourse we get a clear picture in the Irish and Welsh Lives of Saints of the 6th and following centuries. Thus St. Moedhog (Aidan) of Ferns is said to have been a disciple of St. David's in Killmuine (Mynyw).[2] The Irish saints who visited St. David for instruction are too numerous to mention. Among them were St. Scutinus,[3] St. Modomnoc[4] of

[1] See Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege*, pp. 47—49.

[2] Colgan, *Acta. SS. Hib.*, pp. 209 ff., S. Moedoc ad Brittanniam nauigauit ad Beatum Dauidem Episcopum ciuitatis quae dicitur Kill-muine: mansitque apud eum multo tempore, etc. *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, pp. 131 ff.

[3] *Acta SS. Hib.*, pp. 9 ff., Scutinus discendi desiderio in Britanniam ad S. Davidem Menevensem se contulit: ibique cum S. Aidano Fernensi Modomnoco aliisque suae gentis plnribus condiscipulis, eos in pietatis pariter et litterarum studiis fecit profectus.

[4] *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 316, Dominicus autem abstractioris vitae et altioris perfectionis desiderio illectus, ex Hibernia in Britanniam se contulit: ibique magistrum

Ossory who was said to have brought a swarm of bees from Menevia to Ireland, St. Barrius (Barra),[1] St. Senanus,[2] St. Moling[3] and many others. *Verum pene tertia pars vel quarta Hibernie servit David,* wrote Rhygyfarch in his Life. Colgan explains his inclusion of St. David among the Irish saints by the following reasons:[4] *Primo quia mater eius fuit domo et origine Hiberna: fuit enim filia Bracani principis Brechiniae in Britannia, ut tradunt Capgrave in Vita S. Keynes, cap. I et Mart Salisburiense 3, oct . . . Secundo, quia per multos sanctos nostrae gentis singulari coluit amicitia, ut S. Albeum Patrem suum spiritualem Sanctos Aidanum sive Maedocum, Scuthinum et Modomnocum discipulos; SS. Braudaeum, Barreum, Declanum, Finnianum, Mo-luanum, Senanum, Molaggium et alios multos ut constat partim ex ipsius, partim ex eorumdem sanctorum actis. Tertio quia a domesticis Martyrologiis inter Sanctos Hiberniae numeratur.*[5] It was when on his way back from Rome that St. Senanus visited St. David at Mynyw.[6] St. Barrius also was returning from a pilgrimage to Rome when he turned aside to pay honour to the Welsh saint.[7] According to the Life of St. Finnian of Clonard, that saint on arriving at Mynyw found the three Saints, David, Gildas and Cathmail "contending for the headship and abbacy of the island of Britain." They got Finnian to act as arbitrator and he awarded the island to David. The Irish Life in the *Book*

nactus celeberrimum illum Davidem Menevensem postea archiepiscopum et Britonum apostolum, sub eius disciplina una cum S. Aidano Fernensi, S. Scuthino et aliis compluribus, etc. *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, pp. 133—134.

[1] *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 418.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 440 and 523—529.

[3] *Acta SS. Hib.*, pp. 147 ff., Ex Albania [Scotland] in Walliam contendit et Sanctissimum virum Dauidem Menevensem episcopum adiit.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 430.

[5] David is mentioned not only in *Félire Oéngusse* and the *Martyrology of Marian* but also in *Martyrology of Tallaght, Martyrology of Donegal,* etc., which commemorate only Irish saints.

[6] *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 440, In patriam revertens deflectit ad S. Davidem Menevensem in Britannia maiori Archiepiscopum, apud quem postquam aliquamdiu versaretur.

[7] *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 418, Alio etiam tempore contigit ut Sanctus Barrius redeundo de Curia Romana ad Sanctum (Davidem) visitandum declinasset. So also St. Samson of S. Wales a contemporary of Gildas, was persuaded to go to Ireland by some Irish scholars who were passing through S. Wales on their way back from Rome. (Quidam peritissimi Scoti de Roma venientes, *Annal. Bolt.* p. 582a.)

of Lismore tells us that Finnian later founded four monasteries in Britain. "Of these is Lann Gabhran today."[1] St. Cadoc or Cathmail is said to have been baptised and educated by an Irish hermit, *quidam religiosus Hibernensis, heremita Deo devotius serviens, nomine Meuthi.*[2] St. Brynach, the *Brynach Wyddel* of the Iolo MSS., was an Irish saint who was confessor (*periglawr*) to Brychan Brycheiniawg.[3]

Numerous Welsh saints are said to have visited Ireland. St. Cadoc sailed to Ireland *discendi gratia.*[4] "And coming in good time to land he employed himself in diligently searching for the most excellent master of that country, so that he might by him be more perfectly instructed in the seven liberal arts; and thirsting greatly for improvement in learning, he at length came prosperously to the principal city of that country, which is called Lismor Muchutu. And he was graciously received by the clergy there resident."[5] Cadoc studied for three years under St. Muchutu "until he succeeded in gaining perfection in the learning of the West."[6] We are told that a large company of Irish and British clergy accompanied him on his return to Britain, "among whom were the religious and very learned men, namely Finnian, Macmoil and Gnavan."[7] According to the Homily in the *Cambro-British Saints,* St. Carannog went to Ireland to assist St. Patrick in his missionary labours "and changed his name, in the language of that country, to Cernach."[8] With this we may compare the Irish tradition which represents Cairneach as assisting Patrick in the compilation of the Senchus Mór, the earliest authority for which is Cormac's Glossary (s. v. *nós*). St. Cybi spent four years in Aran with St. Enda, and erected a church there.[9] A long account of a dispute he

[1] Whitley Stokes, *Lives of SS. from Book of Lismore,* ll. 2527 ff. and *Acta SS. Hib.*, pp. 393 ff.

[2] Rees, *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, p. 25.

[3] *Ib.* and Baring Gould and Fisher, *Brit. SS.*, pp. 321—327, also *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 84 and 121.

[4] Translated by Rees (p. 35) "for the sake of teaching." Rather "for the sake of learning."

[5] Rees, *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, p. 36.

[6] *Ib.*

[7] *Ib.*

[8] *Ib.*, pp. 95—96.

[9] *Ib.*, pp. 183—187.

had with one "Crubthir Fintan," Fintan the Priest, is given in the Latin Life in the *Cambro-British Saints*. St. Cynog or Canocus seems to have divided his time between Ireland and Britain.[1] He founded the monastery of Gallen (near Ferbane, King's Co.), the *Galinne na mBretan* of the Irish Annals,[2] and the monastery of Delgany, Co. Wicklow, the older form of which is Dergne Mochonog.[3] St. David himself, though he was in close touch with the most famous of Irish monastic founders, does not appear to have visited Ireland at any time.

Besides the purely ecclesiastical effect of these centuries of close intercourse, the quickening of the zeal of ecclesiastics and the spread of monasticism and of the ascetic spirit, there must undoubtedly have been some influence on the language and customs of the two countries. When Irish and Welsh monks lived side by side within the walls of the same monastery one group of them must have learned the other's native speech. We have a MS. containing Welsh glosses which bear all the appearance of having been written by an Irish monk acquainted with the two Celtic dialects.[4]

When St. Finnian of Clonard visited the monastery of David in Mynyw, the Welsh saint is reported to have remarked on the clearness with which Finnian spoke the Welsh language: *nostri generis linguam loquitur lucide quasi indigena esset.*[5] The interchange of MSS. religious and otherwise, must have been common between the religious communities of both countries. We may without rashness assume that Wales at this period borrowed largely from Irish art, the illumination of MSS., metal-work, etc.[6] It may be the names of these Irish monks

[1] *Acta SS. Hib.*, pp. 311 ff., Sanctus Canoeus . . . qui eum in Britannia, tum in Hibernia, diversorum monasteriorum erectione et gubernatione . . . claruit.

[2] *A. U.* s. a. 822. *A. Clon.* s. a. 820. According to Conell MacGeoghagan, the 17th century translator of *Ann. Clon.*, the early Irish gave "the town of Gallen" to Welshmen, whence it was called "Gallen of the Welshmen or Wales." Cp. also Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, II, p. 123, Galinne na mBretan, so-called because "a monastery was erected there in the end of the 5th century for British monks, by St. Canocus, a Welshman." In the *A. U.* s. a. 833 is a reference to "Dermagh Britonum" (Durrow of the Britons). We may infer also that this was a monastic establishment of Britons.

[3] Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, II, p. 26.

[4] See *infra* Literary Relations. [5] *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 393.

[6] See article on *Celtic Art in Wales and Ireland Compared* by J. Romilly Allen in *Arch. Camb.*, vol. X, 5th series, 1893, p. 24. The writer thinks it "reasonable

and anchorites that we find in the Christian inscriptions of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries to the north and south of Severn Bay. It is not incredible that Irish anchorites of the 5th—7th centuries or their venerating disciples should have set up Latin and Ogham inscriptions in those districts. Irish monks would be well acquainted with the old pagan traditions and sagas of early Ireland in which the setting up of Ogham monuments is so often mentioned. At Biere in Saxony have been found some stone tablets bearing unintelligible syllables traced in Ogham characters, possibly the work of some wandering Irish monk who was imperfectly acquainted with the craft.[1]

The fact of names of Irish saints being preserved in the names of Welsh monastic foundations does not always prove that these saints visited these places or had any share in their foundation. Irish monks would naturally give the name of the patron saint of their Irish monasteries to these foreign colonies, or these new foundations would take the name of the saint with whose Irish monastery they were affiliated.[2] There are numerous Llansantffraids to be found throughout Wales. There is, however, no hint in the Lives of the Irish Brigid of Kildare that the saint ever left Ireland.[3]

How strong the influence of Irish monks in Welsh and Breton monasteries was during the 6th century is proved by the British imitation of the Irish mode of forming hypocoristic names. The custom prevailed in Ireland during the 6th and 7th centuries of prefixing *Mo-* or *To-* to the first element of a compound name.[4] Thus Aed or Aidan gave Maedoc; St. Cynog (Canocus)

to conclude that the style was first developed in illumination of MSS. executed in Ireland and then spread to other parts of Great Britain."

[1] Cp. Prof. MacNeill, *The Irish Ogham Inscriptions*, Proc. R. I. A., vol. XXVII, C, p. 350. See *infra* p. 62.

[2] Rhys (*L. W. Ph.*, 1877, p. 25) notes "the tradition which refers the Church of Llansannan in Denbighshire to the Irish saint Senanus who is supposed to have spent a part of his life in this country (Wales) and to have died in the year 544." I have not found any other reference to this tradition, and as Rhys himself pointed out, the double 'n' in Sannan throws doubt on the identification.

[3] Baring Gould and Fisher, *Brit. SS.*, pp. 264 ff. There are said to be no less than 17 churches dedicated to Brigid in Wales. The cult of this saint was also widely spread in Devonshire and Brittany.

[4] Cp. Zimmer, *Celtic Church*, pp. 67—69; Rhys, *Arch. Camb.*, XII, pp. 36—37, 300—301.

was known in Ireland as Mochonog; the church ascribed to St. Cybi in Meath was called the Church of Mochop.[1] In Wales we find many examples of 6th century saints whose names had this double formation.[2] There are at least a dozen examples of such names amongst the Breton saints of the 6th—7th centuries.[3] We have proof too that the custom was borrowed from Ireland. In a 9th century Life of St. Paul of Léon, mention is made of several of the Saint's disciples from S.-W. Britain, amongst them Quenocus "whom some, adding to his name after the fashion of the people oversea,[4] call Toquenocus." The *gens transmarina* can refer only to the Irish.

The period 6th –7th century was perhaps that in which the relations of Ireland and Wales were closest and most continuous, as it undoubtedly was the period during which Welsh and Irish were on the most amicable terms. From before the middle of the 7th century, however, these friendly relations received a check. From the year 630 onwards the Irish Church, beginning with the southern Irish branch, submitted gradually to the authority of Rome in the matter of tonsure and the method of determining the date of the Easter festival. For more than one hundred years longer the British Church of Wales clung steadfastly to the "Celtic Rite," the superseded customs of the Synod of Arles and of Western Christianity of the 3rd—4th centuries. The estrangement thus brought about between the Irish and British Churches by these trifling yet intensely annoying differences must have seriously hindered the intercourse of Irish and British monks and practically banished Irish clerics from S.-W. Britain. So far did this estrangement proceed that about the year 700 we find an Irish Canon reproving the British clergy for their refusal to submit to Rome.[5] When the British Church made its tardy submission in the middle of the 8th century, Irish and Welsh had been drawn apart for over a century, and before it was possible to reknit the old ties, the

[1] Rees, *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, p. 185.

[2] Meuthi was the familiar form of Tathan. Rees, *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, pp. 255—264, etc. So also Tyssilio, Tydecho, Tyfaelog, etc.

[3] Loth, *L'Emigration Bretonne*, pp. 164ff; Zimmer, *Celtic Church*, p. 69.

[4] More gentis transmarinae, *R. C.* V, p. 437.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, II, pp. 330—333. Cp. Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege*, p. 49, n. 1.

shores of the Irish Sea, eastern Ireland and western Britain, began to suffer the ravages of Norwegian and Danish sea-rovers. From the beginning of the 9th century on, the "gentiles" plundered and devastated the coasts of Britain and Ireland. Irish clerics were not likely to brave the dangers of the Northmen's fleets to cross to S.-W. Britain where they were no more assured against the attacks of the heathen raiders than in their own country.

Nevertheless ecclesiastical intercourse between the two countries was not altogether suspended. We find late references in the Irish Annals to abbots and bishops who either were Britons or had spent some time in Britain. Thus the *Annals of Tigernach* record the death of "Colman of the Britons, abbot of Slane,"[1] and in the *Annals of Ulster*, under the year 863, we read of the death of a venerable scribe and anchorite, Bishop of Kildare, called "Aedgen Britt," Aedgen the Briton.[2] We may note also the entry in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* s. a. 673: "Beagan Reymyn Dyed (*i. e.* died) in the Isleland of Wales."[3] The entry in the *Four Masters* s. a. 676: "Becan Rumin quievit," would seem to indicate that he was a cleric. There are no further indications of Welsh-Irish ecclesiastical relations until the middle of the 11th century. "The close intercourse between Wales and Ireland," writes Prof. Hugh Williams, "of which we find ample evidence in the early *Vitae* is shown to be still maintained at the end of the 11th century by the poem which was composed by Iouan in honour of his father Sulyen, Bishop of St. David's (*Bruts*, p. 293):

Exemplo patrum commotus (a)more legendi
Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros.

'After the example of our fathers, drawn by love of reading, he repaired to the Irish renowned for their wondrous wisdom.'"[4]

[1] *R. C.* XVII, p. 252: "Mors Colmáin na mBretan, maic Faeláin, ab Sláine." Also in *A. U.* s. a. 750; *F. M.* s. a. 746. The translator of *Ann. Clon.* gives under the year 757: "Colman of the Welshmen, abbot of Slaine, Died" (ed. Murphy, p. 119).

[2] *A. U.* s. a. 863: "Aedgen Britt episcopus Cille Dara et scriba et anchorita et senex fere CXVI annorum pausat;" *F. M.* s. a. 862 has the following entry: "Aeidhgenbrit, epscop Cilledara, scribhnidh ocus angcoire décc."

[3] *Ann. Clon.* ed. Murphy, p. 109; *F. M.* s. a. 675: "Becan Ruimind dég i mBreatain 17 Marti."

[4] H. Williams's edition of Gildas, II, p. 298 n.

Sulien, who was born of noble stock in Cardiganshire in the beginning of the 11th century, visited Ireland about the year 1059 and spent thirteen years in study there.[1] On his return to Wales Sulien founded the school of St. David's, and it is to this school and to his own preëminence as a teacher that Sulien owes his fame. Four relics of the work of this school are now extant, and, as we should naturally expect, they bear marked traces of Irish influences.[2]

OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS IN WALES

The most incontestable evidence of the presence of Irishmen in Wales during the period 5th—7th centuries is that furnished by the inscribed stones dating from that time. It will not be necessary to enter here into an account of the Ogham epigraphy. It was a mysterious kind of writing, an Irish runic alphabet, which, judging by the numerous references to it in the earliest Irish literature, had a widespread vogue among the pagan and early Christian inhabitants of Ireland. The key to the Ogham alphabet has been preserved in the *Book of Ballymote*. Ogham inscriptions have been found in Ireland, the Isle of Man, Scotland, Wales and the south-west of England. It is significant that of the known inscriptions (about 360) more than five-sixths have been found in Ireland, whilst of the Irish inscriptions about five-sixths have been found in the counties of Kerry, Cork and Waterford. About thirty Ogham inscriptions have come to light in Wales, of which fifteen are in Pembrokeshire, only two in North Wales, the remainder in the rest of South Wales. "The range of the use of Ogham in inscriptions outside of Ireland," writes Prof. MacNeill, "corresponds to the range of Irish settlements and of Irish influence,

[1] See *The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch*, ed. Rev. Prof. H. T. Lawlor, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 47, p. xii; also note on Bishop Sulien and his Family, Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, pp. 459—462.

[2] Cp. Prof. Lawlor, *loc. cit.*, pp. xv—xvii. In Gwynedd relations between the Irish and Welsh churches seem to have been maintained to some extent during the reigns of Gruffydd ap Cynan and his son Owain Gwynedd (Lloyd, *History of Wales*, pp. 455, 521). For a Welsh monastic foundation in Ireland in the 12th century see W. H. Grattan Flood, *Glascarrig Priory, Co. Wexford*, Royal Soc. Antiq. of Ireland, vol. XXXV (1905), pp. 166 ff.

at the time of the collapse of the Western Empire. In general the range is that of the Irish language at the time."[1]

Sir John Rhys maintained the singular thesis that the Ogham alphabet originated in Wales. In this view, as far as I know, he was entirely unsupported by Celtic scholars and archaeologists. "If we may venture to follow the supposed westward course of civilisation,"[2] he says, we must take Great Britain as the place of origin of the Ogham writing. Elsewhere he supposes the Ogham alphabet to have been "invented by a Goidelic native of Siluria or Demetia. . . . Thence, we presume, it was propagated to Ireland, especially the South and South-West."[3] There seems no logical basis for such a view. The discovery of fifteen Ogham inscriptions in Pembrokeshire will not warrant the assumption that the two hundred odd inscriptions of southern and south-western Ireland travelled thither from Demetia even by the "supposed westward course of civilisation."

A glance at the position of the Welsh Ogham inscriptions on the map will prove instructive. They are most thickly scattered in the peninsula of Dyfed, that part of Wales which lies directly opposite the south of Ireland, the region *par excellence* of the Ogham cult. In County Dublin and County Wicklow there are only sporadic instances of Oghams; in that district of Wales lying opposite, only two Oghams have come to light, one at Pool Park in Denbighshire, the other at Brynkir in Carnarvonshire. As Prof. Lloyd points out, "while the Ogham inscriptions furnish incontestable evidence of the existence of a Goidelic population in the districts in which they are found, they afford no reason for limiting it to those parts of Wales."[4] The most natural explanation of the distribution of the Welsh Oghams is that the Irish who came to Wales from the south of Ireland, the region where Oghams are found in greatest abundance, brought with them this cult, and it was to the shores of Wales lying directly opposite, Dyfed, that these southern Irish came.

[1] Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 173. See also a paper by the same writer on the *Irish Ogham Inscriptions*, Proc. R. I. A. XXVII, c. 15, p. 330.

[2] *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 1877, p. 272.

[3] *Celtic Britain*, 1882, p. 247.

[4] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, I, p. 114.

A Latin rendering of the Goidelic occurs on twenty-two of the thirty Welsh Oghams. In the Oghams of Ireland this Latin version of the Ogham writing is almost entirely unknown.[1] Its occurrence in Wales points to the conjecture that the Ogham characters were unfamiliar to the native Britons, and that Irish engravers of Ogham inscriptions in Wales added the Latin as a gloss, to render them more intelligible.[2] Besides these bilingual (Latin-Ogham) inscriptions, monoglot Latin inscriptions containing Goidelic names occur in great number throughout Wales, two being found in Anglesey.[3]

Rhys and his followers adduce the presence of these Goidelic inscriptions in Wales as a proof of the existence of Goidels (*i.e.* prehistoric Goidels) in Wales in the Roman and pre-Roman period.[4] But the Ogham stones prove no more than the presence of a Goidelic population in Wales in the 5th—7th centuries. That the people who erected these monuments to their dead kinsmen were, in some cases, the descendants of earlier Goidelic invaders is quite probable. A tombstone was discovered in Carmarthenshire in 1895, bearing the Latin inscription *Memoria Voteporigis Protictoris* and the Ogham name *Votecorigas*.[5] This Votecorigas is to be identified with the tyrant of Dyfed mentioned by Gildas, King Guortepir son of Aircol Llawhir in the pedigrees.[6] This Guo(r)tepir was a descendant of Eochaid

[1] Cp. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, I, p. 113; Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 272.

[2] Prof. Lloyd (*History of Wales*, I, p. 113) takes this Latin rendering as a proof "that Latin had so far established itself as the literary language as to be used concurrently with the other (Goidelic) in most of the Ogham sepulchral inscriptions." But this will not explain the absence of a Latin rendering in the Oghams of Ireland where Latin was also well known.

[3] *Cunogusi* on a stone at Bodfeddan (*L.W. Ph.*, p. 363); and *Maccudecceti* on the Penrhos Lligwy stone (*ib.*, p. 361).

[4] Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 1882, p. 213), says of the people who set up the Ogham monuments: "They were Goidels belonging to the first invasion of Britain and of whom some passed over into Ireland and made that also Celtic. . . It is the language of these retreating Goidels of Britain that we have in the old inscriptions, and not of Goidelic invaders from Ireland." Cp. Lloyd (*History of Wales*, I, p. 97): "The Irish thus commemorated by inscriptions in their own tongue were the ancient inhabitants of the land, who had not been dislodged by the advancing tide of Brythonic invasion when the 'Roman Peace' put an end to tribal warfare."

[5] *Arch. Camb.*, 1895 (5th series), vol. XII, pp. 303—313.

[6] See Rhys, *Arch. Camb.*, 1892, pp. 63ff. The modern Welsh form of the name would be Gwodelyr (from original Votepo-riks, Votepo-rigas). Cp. Meilyr from

Allmuir, the Irish leader of the Déssi who invaded Dyfed in the 3rd century.[1] The 8th century Irish tradition which traces the descendants of this Eochaid down to Teudor mac Regin, King of Dyfed, shows that this tribe was in communication with their kinsmen in Ireland for many centuries.[2]

The period 5th—7th centuries was, as we have seen, that in which the Irish and Welsh Churches were in closest communication. Some of these monuments may have been set up by Irish clerics in Wales.[3] The word *qrimiter* (O.-Ir. *cruimther*, borrowed through Welsh from Latin *pre(s)byter*) occurs once on an Ogham inscription. The name *Colman*, the Irish form of Columbanus, and one of the commonest names among Irish saints and monks, occurs twice. There was no wide breach between the new Christianity of Ireland and the old pagan literature and traditions. The purely pagan tales such as those of rebirth and transformatian were preserved for us by monkish scribes, as many interpolations testify. Even the old pagan Druidism of the Irish was, as it were, taken over and incorporated into early Christianity. "Christ the Son of God is my Druid," (*Is é mo drai Crist mac Dé*), is put in the mouth of St. Columba of Iona.

It seems probable too that there were many Irish laymen in Wales during the period when Irish anchorites and monks swarmed into Wales, Cornwall and Brittany. In the *Life of St. David* we read of an Irish chieftain, Boia, who had settled near St. David's at a spot which to the present day is called Clegyr Foia or Fwya.[4] St. Cadoc, we are told, wished to build an oratory in Neath and engaged twelve workmen for the purpose. "Wherefore it happened that a certain Irishman

Maglo-riks. (Mod. pron. Meilir is due to affection of the final 'y' by preceeding diphthong 'ei.')

[1] See *supra* p. 39.

[2] Cp. *Cormac's Glossary* s. v. mug-eme (quoted *supra*).

[3] Zimmer, *Auf welchem Wege*, p. 50, suggests that the Oghams of Wales and Cornwall were due to Irish clerics of the 5th—7th centuries. In *Nenn. Vind.* p. 86, he seems to see in them the work of the descendants of early invaders and colonisers from Ireland. Cp. Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, p. 35: "The early church in Wales was closely connected with that of Ireland, and the fact that Ogham inscriptions in Britain are, it would appear, to a great extent coincident with the area of early Irish missionary work is a curious coincidence."

[4] Rees, *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, p. 124.

named Liuguri [prob. *Laogaire*], a stranger but a skilful architect, being forced by poverty, came to him with his children that by the practice of his skill he might procure food for himself and family."[1] From this Irishman, the tradition has it, Llanlyugri was called.

EARLY COMMERCE AND INTERMARRIAGE

Even in the early centuries, we may assume a certain amount of peaceful commerce between Ireland and Wales. Up to the time of the Vikings and perhaps even during the Viking period, Ireland probably traded with Wales in such commodities as leather,[2] skins and wood, and Welsh horses appear, from references in Irish literature, to have been particularly valued in Ireland.[3]

Intermarriages, too, must have been of frequent occurrence.[4] According to an Irish legend preserved in the *Book of Armagh*, a 5th century chieftain on the Boyne, one Fedelmid mac Loigaire, had a British wife, by name Scoth Nua (Lat., Flos Recens). Lomman, a follower and fellow-worker of Patrick, coming to land, met Fedelmid and his wife. The British lady is said to have been overjoyed at the sight of a fellow-countryman, and her Irish husband is represented as conversing with Lomman in the British tongue.[5] In the *Life of St. Tigernach* we read of Ethne, daughter of the King of Munster, landing in Britain with a British escort, to be married to a British king.[6] In the Welsh tale of *Branwen ferch Llyr*, Matholwch, King of Ireland, comes to Wales to seek Branwen in marriage. "He desires to ally himself with thee, lord," said Matholwch's embassy to Bran, her brother, "and he comes to ask Branwen the daughter

[1] *Ib.*, p. 47.

[2] Cp. H. Gaidoz, *Le cuir d'Irlande dans les Mabinogion*, *Z. für C. Ph.* IV, p. 191.

[3] Six score Welsh horses were given by the Norse King Amlaim as ransom on his being taken prisoner by Mathghamhain ó Riagáin, King of Bregha, *A. U.* s. a. 1029 (I, p. 561). Cp. *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, ed. Meyer. pp. 45, 111 and 140; also Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, II, p. 412.

[4] Cp. Loth, *Les Bretons insulaires en Irlande*, *R. C.* XVIII, p. 305, and Meyer's paper on *Early Relations of Gael and Brython*, p. 65.

[5] W. Stokes, *Trip. Life*, II, p. 334; also translated with notes in Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 257 ff. Cp. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 102—103.

[6] Quoted by Meyer, *Early Relations etc.*, p. 65.

of Llyr, that, if it seem well to thee, the Island of the Mighty may be leagued with Ireland and both become more powerful."[1] The legendary character of these tales is obvious, but they are valuable as depicting for us the early relations of the two countries. At a later period we have many historically reliable instances of such intermarriages.[2]

BRITAIN THE ASYLUM OF IRISH REFUGEES

Britain, whilst it attracted the Irish warrior in search of plunder or adventure, must always have been the refuge of Irish fugitives. The *regulus* of Tacitus, *expulsus seditione domestica*, was neither the first nor the last of those Goidels who sought an asylum on the neighbouring shores of Britain. The old-Irish saga of *Bruden Da Derga* tells of the alliance of four exiled Irish princes with one Ingcel, the son of the King of Britain *(mac rig Bretan)* and of the ravages committed by these allied warriors on the coasts of Ireland, Scotland and Wales.[3] Lughaidh mac Con is said to have taken refuge in Britain and there to have collected a host which returned with him to Ireland to fight in the battle of Magh Muccruimhe.[4] Special mention is made in the annals of one Béinne Britt (Béinne the Briton), who fought in this battle.[5] The 6th century Aed Guaire, who fled to Britain from the wrath of Diarmuid mac Cearbaill, is represented as returning in disappointment, for the power of Diarmuid was great in Britain as in Ireland.[6] The Irish Annals speak of many such Irish princelings who fled to Britain either to bide there until such time as they might with safety return to their own country or to seek the help of Britons in their domestic feuds. Thus we read of the flight to Britain of Fogartach ua Cearnaigh, afterwards King of Ireland 715—723.[7]

[1] *W. B.* 20; the Four Branches probably preserved traditions of the intercourse between Ireland and Wales during the 9th—11th centuries.

[2] See *infra*, Viking Period.

[3] *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, ed. Whitley Stokes, reprinted from *R. C.* XXII, XXIII, Paris, 1902.

[4] *Cath Maige Mucrime*, ed. Whitley Stokes, *R. C.* XIII, pp. 426—474.

[5] *Ann. Tig.*, *R. C.* XVII, p. 11.

[6] *Silva Gadelica*, ed. O'Grady, II, p. 81.

[7] *A. U.* s. a. 713, "Fogartach ua Cernaigh de regno expulsus est, in Britanniam ivit;" *F. M.* s. a. 712, "Fogartach ua Cernoigh dionnarbad i mBreathnaibh la Fergal ri Ereann."

Aurthuile (or Aurothan), chieftain of Cinel Eoghain, was expelled from his kingdom and found refuge in Britain in A.D. 699.[1]

IRELAND THE ASYLUM OF BRITISH REFUGEES

Just as Britain was the asylum of Irish refugees from the days of Agricola's *regulus* down to the time of *Diarmuid na nGall*, so Ireland was a place of asylum for fugitive Britons from earliest times. The 17th century historian, Geoffrey Keating, who had the advantage of living three centuries nearer than we do to the events which he recorded and who undoubtedly had access to early Irish MSS. and traditions now lost, maintained that "Ireland was a place of refuge for the Britons whenever they suffered persecution from the Romans or the Saxons or from any other races that oppressed them." "Large companies of them," he says, "with their families and followers and with their wealth, used to fly for refuge to Ireland; and the Irish nobles used to give them land during their stay; and the children they had during their time of exile used to learn Irish."[2]

Britons fleeing from the Saxon invasion probably took refuge in Ireland. In the 9th century *Life of St. Winnaloe* written by Wrdistan we learn that the Britons "who escaped the sword of the invaders [Saxons] abandoned their native land, to seek refuge *some among the Scots*, the rest in Belgic Gaul."[3] That

[1] *A. U.* s. a. 699, "Aurthuile nepos Crunnmail de regno expulsus in Britanniam pergit;" *F. M.* s. a. 698, "Aurthaile ua Crunnmaoil, toisech Cenil Eoghain, dionnarbadh as in righe i mBreatain."

[2] *Foras Feasa*, II, pp. 68ff. Keating's account is evidently based mainly on statements of Welsh and English chronielers, but it is quite possible that it also represents a native tradition. The rest of this passage is worth quoting: "There are townlands in Ireland named from them, as Gráig na mBreathnach, Baile na mBreathnach, Dún na mBreathnach etc.; and after they returned to Britain they themselves and their deseendants after them had many Irish words in eonstant use . . . Furthermore it is eorreet to say that the Welsh and Irish are alike in their manners and eustoms, since as the Irishman is hospitable in bestowing food without payment, so is the Welshman; as moreover the Irishman loves antiquaries, poets, bards and harpists, the Welshman has a similar love for these elasses, and in the same way they resemble one another in several other eustoms. However, this does not prove that the Gaels eame from Britain, but is rather a proof that Welshmen sojourned in Ireland as we have said above."

[3] Quoted in *Brit. SS.*, Baring Gould & Fisher, p. 47; ep. also Meyer, *Learning in Ireland*, p. 9; MaeNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 302. M. L'Abbé Duchesne

there were settlements of Britons, probably Britons from Strathclyde, in Ireland in the centuries preceding the coming of the Norsemen seems very probable. In the Irish Annals we read that Britons fought against Irish at the battle of Rathmore in Moylinny in 682.[1] In A. D. 797 Britons and Ulstermen together ravaged the plain of Muirtheimne (Louth).[2] Iorgalach ua Conaing was slain (A. D. 707) by Britons in Ireland's Eye, where they had probably made a settlement.[3] In A. D. 702 is recorded a battle fought at Magh Cuilinn in Ard ua nEacach between the Ulidians and Britons. The *Annals of Tigernach* add that *Filius Radhgaind adversarius ecclesiarum Dei* fell here.[4] We read of British mercenaries fighting in the battle of Selg (near Glendalough, County Wicklow). In the *Annals of Ulster* they are called "Cellach's Britons" *(cum Britonibus Ceallaigh)*, but the Four Masters are more explicit and speak of them as "others of the Britons who came in the host of Ceallach" (*araill do Breathnuibh tangadar hi socraide Ceallaigh*).[5]

In the later Viking period, the influx of British fugitives became still greater.[6] If Keating's account is to be relied on, some of these British refugees settled down in Ireland, and in the course of a few generations no doubt became "more Irish than the Irish themselves." The assimilative capacity of the Irish nation has been remarkable at all periods. Gauls, Danes, Normans and English have been received into the country and have been completely amalgamated with the native Irish. That a not inconsiderable Welsh element was

in his work *Fastes episcopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* (t. II) maintains that the Cornovii and Dumnonii were not menaced by the Saxons until the 6th century and suggests that the inroads of Picts and Scots may have been a determining factor in their flight to Brittany in the 5th century. (I have not been able to consult Duchesne's work but cp. *R. C.* XXI, pp. 244 ff.) But the fact that these British refugees found shelter in Ireland would seem to discountenance this theory of M. Duchesne.

[1] *A. U.* s. a. 681; *F. M.* s. a. 680.

[2] *A. U.* s. a. 696.

[3] *A. U.* s. a. 701; *F. M.* s. a. 700; cp. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 54.

[4] *A. U.* s. a. 702. Loth (*R. C.* XVII, p. 107) regards the name Redgand as British and compares Rit-cant in Old-Breton, Redgand or Ridgent in Mid. Breton.

[5] *A. U.* s. a. 708; *F. M.* s. a. 707.

[6] See *infra* pp. 74—79.

likewise assimilated in the course of centuries is extremely probable.[1]

THE VIKING PERIOD

Up to the 9th century there had been no foreign conquest in Ireland. During the 6th and 7th centuries Angles, Saxons and Britons had frequented the island, but they came not for conquest but in quest of the learning for which Ireland was at this period so justly renowned. The Britons had, it is true, fought many a fight on Irish soil, now against some Irish sept, now as allies or mercenaries of one Irish sept against another. They fought as they might have fought in Wales or Strathclyde; no wide ambition of conquest possessed them. But with the coming of the Northmen in the last decade of the 8th century all was changed, and for two hundred years the national life and civilisation of Ireland were threatened with conquest by an alien population settled within the Irish shores and powerfully reinforced from outside. The Danes attacked the shores of England from the Forth to the Channel, the country of the Scots in the north-west, the land of the Britons from Strathclyde to Land's End, and the shores of Ireland opposite. In Ireland, however, no national supremacy of the Danes ever superseded that of the Irish. The fate of Ireland was far different from that of England where the Danes rode triumphant over the land, exterminated the royal English houses, and set a Danish king upon the throne (1013). But these Scandinavian sea-rovers, who were also the greatest merchants of Northern Europe, were quick to seize those vantage points in Ireland whence they could command the broad forests and cultivated plains of the inland region. Danish kingdoms were set up in Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, and the Irish Sea swarmed with Danish ships which traded for timber, skins and corn with the Dano-Irish ports. All through the stormy 9th century we find Irishmen such as Clemens, Dungal, Dicuil, Scottus Eriugena, crowding to the Continent, there to pursue the life of retirement

[1] Cp. Loth, *Bretons Insulaires en Irlande*, *R. C.* XVIII, pp. 304—309. "Les luttes des Bretons avec les Gaëls en Irlande sont historiquement constatées du V^e^ au VIII^e^ siècle. Il est possible et même probable que les Bretons dont il s'agit ont fondé en Irlande des établissements sérieux et qui ont fini par disparaître dans la masse de la population gaëlique" (p. 309).

and learning no longer possible in their own land. In the 10th century matters began to mend somewhat; the Viking settlers had in the course of the 9th century been gradually Christianised and irishised; the merchants, who had come for peace not war, soon intermarried freely with the Irish and adopted their customs and even their language. We hear of a race of "foreign-Irish," *Gall-Gaedhil. echtar-chenél*, and of Irish troops fighting on the side of Vikings, of Vikings allying themselves with Irish in their domestic wars.

Wales, too, was exposed to the attacks of the fierce Norsemen. We read in the Annals of ravages in Anglesey and all along the coast. "Isolated notices like these merely afford a glimpse of what must have been going on in Wales throughout the 9th century. They suggest, without describing, an era of general devastation and insecurity the detailed history of which can never be written. . . The cornlands of Anglesey, so open to be attacked by sea, the pleasant creeks and anchorages of Dyfed, and the fertile regions to which the Severn Estuary gave easy access were beyond a doubt exposed to continual inroads, a few of which have been recorded, while scar and holm and wick tell vaguely of the rest."[1] It was the "gentiles" from Ireland and from the Isle of Man who thus ravaged the Welsh coast. The Vikings crossed the sea from their settlements in Dublin and in Waterford, which were the base of operations for expeditions to the interior of Ireland as (from about 870 on) for their wars against Northumberland. It is a remarkable fact that "much as the country [viz. Wales] was exposed to the attacks of the Northmen, and long as it continued to be in danger from them, their total effect was comparatively slight."[2] We have no list of Danish and Norwegian loan-words in Welsh[3] to place beside the long series of borrowings from Norse in Irish; with one notable exception, that of the Mabinogi of Branwen, Welsh literature has been uninfluenced by the Norse sagas.[4] I would venture to surmise that the explanation of this curious phenomenon, namely, that the

[1] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, I, pp. 322—323.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 320.

[3] Cp. Lloyd, *ib.*, p. 23/n.

[4] The Norse features in the tale of Branwen, containing as it does undoubted borrowings from Irish literature, we may ascribe to the influence of Norse-Irish,

Welsh language and literature were practically uninfluenced by the Northmen's invasions, may be found in the fact that most of these invasions of Wales set forth from Ireland and were the invasions of Danish-Irish rather than of pure Northmen.

INTERCOURSE IN THE VIKING PERIOD

Thus in the Viking period a third element interposed between Irish and Welsh, and the sea, which had hitherto connected the two countries, swarmed now with the ships of the Northern pirates. At first the menace of a common foe may have drawn Irish and Welsh still more closely together. The Irish Annals record that *Ruadhri mac Muirminn, ri Bretan* (Rhodri the Great, son of Mervyn Frych) fled to Ireland from the "black Gentiles" in the year 877.[1] We may assume that it was among the native Irish that Rhodri found an asylum and not in the Danish settlements of Leinster. We read, too, in the *Annals of Ulster* s. a. 912 that Maelbrigte mac Tornain "went to Munster to ransom a pilgrim of the Britons"[2] who had presumably fallen into the hands of the Gall-Gaedhil or of the heathen Vikings. A temporary triumph won by the Irish over the "heathens" of Dublin (902) was of importance for Wales, for the Scandinavians under the leadership of Ingimund took refuge in Anglesey and endeavoured unsuccessfully to make a settlement there.[3] On the other hand, Danes expelled from South Wales in 915 by Edward the Elder fled to their kinsmen in Ireland.

WELSH TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS

There are few references to intercourse with Ireland to be found in Welsh Annals for the 9th and 10th centuries. The terms *Ysgotteit* and *Gwyddyl* would appear to have often been used loosely in the Welsh Annals to denote the Norsemen of Ireland. Thus an entry in the rather unreliable *Gwentian Brut*

the mixed race resulting from a half-peaceful, half-warlike amalgamation of Norse invaders and pure Irish.

[1] *F. M.* s. a. 874: "Ruaidhri mac Mormind ri Breatan, do thocht i n-Erinn, do theicheadh ria nDubh Ghallaibh." *A. U.* s. a. 876; *Ann. Clon.*: "Roary mac Murmin, King of Britons, came into Ireland for refuge from Blacke Gentyles."

[2] *A. U.* s. a. 912: "Maelbrigte mac Tornain du techt i Mumain do fhusslucadh ailithir do Breatnaibh."

[3] *A. U.* s. a. 901.

under the year 996 records as follows: *Y lladdwyd Rhodri ab Eidwal y gan Wyddelod Mon, ac achaws hynny y diffeithwys Iago ab Eidwal Aberffraw lle ydd oedd y Gwyddelod yn gwladychu, ac ef a lladdes hwynt yn eu holl anneddfaoedd ym Mon ac nis gallasant fyth wedi hynny ymlwyddu yn erbyn y Cymry.* So too the distorted accounts of Irish invasions in the *Iolo MSS.*, on which the Rev. Basil Jones based his theory of an early occupation of Gwynedd by Irish. Rhys long ago pointed out that these Welsh traditions preserved in the *Iolo MSS.* were "mediaeval travesties of the history of the incursions of the Danes, especially of those settled at Dublin," and could not be brought forward as evidence for the invasion of Wales from Ireland in the 4th and 5th centuries.[1] He equates "Anlach son of Coronac" (*Aflech Goronawc*) with the well-known Danish King of Dublin, Anlaf Cuaran. Similarly the name of Serrigi Wyddel, the leader of the *Gwyddyl* in their last battle with "Caswallon Lawhir," is "a corrupt form of some such name as Sitric torn clumsily out of a Latin context, while Caswallon turns out to have been a Welsh prince of the 10th century and not the father of Maelgwn in the 6th."[2] So too Kuno Meyer explains "Syrigi Wyddel" as "no doubt a reminiscence of a Viking Sitric, perhaps of the son of Olaf Cuaran, the King of the Danes at Dublin (*Sitriuc vab Abloec, B. T.* p. 264)."[3] Though the Welsh chronicles are silent, yet it seems not improbable that the entry in the *Annals of Ulster* s. a. 1073 which records the slaying of "Sitriuc mac Amhlaim" *i. e.* Sitric son of Olaf or Anlaf, together with the two grandsons of Brian [Boroma] (*da h-ua mBriain*) "i Manainn" refers to the fall of Serrigi Wyddel in Môn.[4]

[1] *Celt. Brit.*, 1892, p. 242. [2] *Ib.*

[3] *Trans. Cymmr.* 1895—96, p. 62n.

[4] It is perhaps worthy of note that Sitric the grandson of Ivar (who died acc. to *Sax. Chr.* and *Flor. Wig.* A. D. 926, *A. U.* 927) is called *Sitriug Gale* by *F. M.* s. a. 917, and "Sittrick Galey" by the translater of *Ann. Clon.* s. a. 931 (cp. *F. M.*, p. 633n). The mod. Ir. pron. of the word "Gaedhal" which is approximated in the Eng. rendering "Gael" was probably in use in the Danish period. Is it possible that to Welsh ears *Gale* and *Gaedhal* (*i. e. Gwyddel*) were very similar, and may we explain thus the name "Syrigi Wyddel?" This Sitric Gale fought at the battle of Kilmashogue A. D. 919 (*F. M.* 917, *A. U.* 918) and the following year was forced to quit Dublin "per potestatem divinam." The editor of the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (App. D, p. 279) says: "He seems to have gone over to Mercia, for Simeon of Durham (at 920) mentions his having plundered Davenport in Cheshire that year." The *A. U.* record his death "at an early age" s. a. 927 but nothing further is known

The name of the island of Anglesey, Môn, and that of the Isle of Man, identical as they are in origin and approximating in sound, were sometimes confused in the Irish Annals.[1]

There is express mention of the Norsemen in the third of the "*tair gormes Gwyddyl a fu yng Nghymru:*" *Tri dydd oedd Don (a Daronwy medd eraill) brenin Llychlyn a ddaeth hyd yn Werddon ac yniill gwlad yno, ac wedi hynny efe a ddug hyd yng Ngwynedd drigain mil o'r Gwyddyl a Llychlynnys ag yno gwarseddu hyd ymhen can mlynedd a naw ar hugain.*[2] Of course the chronology of the tradition which represents the grandson of Cunedda Wledig who was supposed to have flourished about A. D. 400, as attacking a Norse settlement dating back 129 years is hopelessly absurd. Yet these "mediaeval travesties" may be used as traditional evidence, vague and confused undoubtedly, of Norse settlements in Anglesey in the course of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. The references to the "Irish of Anglesey" (*Gwyddelod Môn*)[3] are too numerous to escape attention. Later in the above-quoted passage we learn that Gwydion the son of the invading Don, the King of Môn and Arfon, was the first to give knowledge of letters to "the Irish of Môn and of Ireland."[4] To cite another instance, we find the line *Gwyddyl Iwerddon Môn a Phrydyn* "the Irish of Ireland, of Anglesey and of Scotland (Pictland)" in the poem *Arymes Prydein Vawr* in the *Book of Taliessin*.[5]

of the manner of his death. Perhaps this Sitric Gale (called by the Welsh, Syrigi Wyddel) who was plundering in Cheshire in 920, met his death in Anglesey shortly after at the hands of a Welsh prince.

[1] Thus the descent of Magnus son of Harold upon Anglesey in A. D. 987 is chronicled in *A. U.* (s. a. 986) as "Cath Manand" won by "mac Aralt." Cp. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, I, p. 352.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 78: "The third was Don (and Daronwy acc. to other accounts) the king of Loehlann [Denmark] who came to Ireland and conquered territory there, and afterwards he brought 60,000 of the Irish and Norse to North Wales and settled there until the end of 129 years."

[3] *Gwyddelod* here used in a loose sense to denote Norse-Irish.

[4] "Ac efe a ddysges wybodau llyfrogion gyntaf i Wyddelod Môn a'r Werddon." As Prof. Gwynn Jones has pointed out to me, this passage cannot be very old, otherwise it would read "i Wyddyl Môn ac Iwerddon." *Gwyddyl* is the old form. *Gwyddelod* is a late formation. It occurs in the *Gwentian Brut* and constitutes a proof of the late invention of that work.

[5] Probably dating from the 9th century. Some scholars hold that *Môn* here refers to the Isle of Man.

These vague and confused traditions of Irish occupations of Wales preserved in the *Iolo MSS.* have at least this value; they preserve the traditional account of the Norse-Irish invasions of, and settlements in, Wales which, considering their frequency and magnitude, obtain but scant space in the Welsh Annals. The original compiler of these accounts shows an utter disregard for chronological accuracy and places 9th—11th century events several centuries earlier. It seems not unnatural to conclude that he was influenced by surviving traditions of previous occupations of Wales by the Irish in the early centuries of our era.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the relations of Irish and Welsh in the 9th—10th centuries by a poem *Arymes Prydein Vawr* in the *Book of Taliessin.*[1] The poem is in the form of a prophecy. After warfare and discord, says the poet, peace shall settle on the land (*A gwedy dyhed anhed ymhop mehyn*). The Cymry of Wales shall unite with the Scandinavians of Dublin, the Irish (or Norse-Irish) of Ireland and of Mona (or of Man?) and of Scotland, and the men of Cornwall and Strathclyde:

A chymot kymry a gwyr dulyn
Gwyddyl iwerdon mon a phrydyn
Cornyw a chludwys en kynnwys genhyn.

And this vast confederacy of peoples shall rout the Saxon foe (*Allmyn*) and banish him from the land,

A mal balaon Saesson syrthyn.

Cynan shall accompany them like a blazing torch before them in the dark, and Cadwaladr shall lead forth his princes:

Canhwyll yn tywyll a gerd genhyn
Cynan yn racwan ymhop discyn
Saesson rac brython gwae a geuyn
Katwaladyr yn baladyr gan y unbyn

They shall raise the holy banner of David to lead the Irish with a standard, and the tribes of Dublin shall stand by them. When they come to the battle they will not deny themselves, they will ask the Saxons what they seek, what claim have they to the land they hold in subjection:

[1] Skene, *Four Books*, II, pp. 123ff.

A lluman glan dewi adrychafant
Y tywysaw gwyrdyl trwy lieingant
A gyrnhen dulyn genhyn y safant
Pan dyffont yr gad nyt ymmadant
Gofynnant yr Saesson py geissyssant
Pwy meint eu dyhyet or wlat a dalyant.

The poem implies that the Cymry at one time certainly looked upon the Irish, both Norse and native, *gwyr Dulyn* and *Gwyddyl Iwerddon*, as possible allies in their struggles against the Saxons. There are no references to the Normans in the poem such as we should expect to find had it been written later than 1066. On the other hand, it makes a distinction between the Norse of Dublin, *gwyr Dulyn*, and the native Irish. Therefore it must have been written after the Norse kingdom of Dublin had been established (*circ.* 850), thus between 850 and 1066. British events would point to the period 850—900 as that in which a Cymric poet would be most likely to have dreamt of such an alliance of Welsh, Irish, Norse-Irish, Cornish and North-British against the Saxon. It was, unfortunately, but a poet's dream, and no such powerful confederation ever opposed the Saxon in Wales.

HISTORICAL INSTANCES

The general relations of the Irish and Welsh during the Viking period from the 9th to the middle of the 11th century are difficult to define precisely owing to lack of data. But on the whole they seem to have been of a hostile nature. Norse-Irish made fierce and frequent attacks on Wales, and Welsh mercenaries seem to have been hired by Norsemen fighting against native Irish. In the Irish account of the wars of the Irish and Danes we find a list of the Scandinavian and other auxiliaries invited by the Dublin Danes to assist them in fighting King Brian Boru. There came to the call besides Sigurd, earl of the Orkneys, and the Norsemen of Manann (Isle of Man), of Skye, of Lewis, Cantyre and Argyle, "two barons from Cornwall and one Corndabliteoc from the Britons of Cill Muine (St. David's)."[1]

The period from the middle of the 11th century to the middle of the 12th may be regarded as the last chapter in the long

[1] *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, p. 152 and Introd. clxviii.

history of the intercourse between Wales and Ireland. From the point of view of Irish influence on Welsh letters, it was perhaps the most important phase of that history. By 1050 the aspect of affairs in both Ireland and Wales had improved considerably. The Norse settlements had become a part of the Irish body politic.[1] Norse attacks on Wales had almost ceased, and it was as mercenaries and allies that the Welsh now regarded the Norse of Dublin and other Irish ports. Keensighted Welsh rulers began to realise the vital importance of a fleet to aid the Welsh in their wars against the English. Now more than ever was Ireland the asylum of Welsh refugees, since there they could hope for valuable assistance, fleets and troops to man the fleets. Thus Ireland played an important part in the struggles of Wales against English and Normans from the 11th to the middle of the 12th century.

In 1049 we find Gruffydd ap Rhydderch of Deheubarth allying himself with Norse from Ireland and ravaging the lands of his enemies in Gwent and the Forest of Dean.[2] Combined forces of Norse-Irish and Welsh assisted the outlawed Earl Aelfgar in a revengeful invasion of the Norman settlement at Hereford in 1055.[3]

The most remarkable figure in these centuries, one which most clearly illustrates the relations of Ireland and Wales, is that of Gruffydd ap Cynan. We are fortunate in having a biography of this prince preserved for us by an almost contemporary record.[4] The *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* was composed during the reign of his son Owain, and according to an authority on Welsh history, is a valuable historical document the evidence of which may be used without hesitation.[5]

Gruffydd was the grandson of Iago ap Idwal Foel, King of Gwynedd, who was assassinated in 1039. His father Cynan,

[1] Cp. MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, pp. 265, 273.

[2] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 361.

[3] *Ib.*, pp. 364—365.

[4] *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* (text with transl. and notes ed. by Arthur Jones, Manchester Univ. Press, 1910). The earliest MS. of the Welsh *Hanes* is of the 13th century. It was translated from a Latin original and the author was, as internal evidence shows, a cleric (Jones's edn. pp. 1—16). As Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans notes, "the fact that we have a life of Griffydd (*sic*) suggests that he brought in his train [from Ireland] a man versed in letters, for there is no biography of any other Cymric prince." (*Pref. Bk. Tal.* p. v.)

[5] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 379.

who does not appear to have ruled in Wales, found a safe retreat during the reign of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn among the Danish kings of Dublin.[1] Cynan married Ragnhildr, the daughter of Olaf Arnaid, King of Dublin (d. 1012), and their son Gruffydd was born about the middle of the 11th century. This Ragnaillt (which is the form the name assumes in the *Hanes*) is mentioned in the list of the fair women of Ireland in the *Book of Leinster*.[2] According to the *Hanes*, Gruffydd was related through the Danes to the kings of Leinster (West Liffey), Munster, Meath and Ulster.[3] The editor of the *Hanes* has verified Gruffydd's connection with the kings of West Liffey through his grandmother Mailcorcre from the *Book of Leinster*, a 12th century Irish manuscript.[4] "His relationship with the kings of Ulster is obscure and impossible; with the kings of Meath, Leinster and Munster it is more apparent than real."[5] But though these connections of Gruffydd with the ruling houses of Ireland were probably added by the biographer for the glorification of his hero, it is fairly certain that by this time, 11th century, the Danes of Dublin were thoroughly irish-ised, had adopted Irish customs and dress and probably to a large extent Irish speech also. Gruffydd was brought up by foster parents according to the old Irish custom.[6] The chronicler tells us that he was "skilled and eloquent in several tongues," probably Welsh, Irish, Norse and Latin.[7]

[1] "We seem to catch a glimpse of Cynan in the Irish chronicles, the *Annals of Ulster* (II, p. 14 and note 3), and the *Annals of Loch Ce* (I, p. 60, 'Mac Leobelin ri Bretan do marbad la mac Iacoib'). The former erroneously calls him 'grandson of Iacop' but the parallel passage in the *Annals of Loch Ce* show that Cynan son of Iago was intended by referring to mac Iacoib." (*Hanes*, Introd. p. 33.)

[2] *Hanes*, p. 40 (*Book of Leinster* 141a). The accuracy of the Scandinavian pedigree of Gruffydd given in the *Hanes* is verified from Irish sources. Cp. pedigrees appended to *Cogadh Gaedhel etc.*

[3] *Hanes*, Introd. pp. 39—46.

[4] "The marriages of Cynan with Ragnaillt, of Olaf Arnaid with Mailcorcre, lack corroboration in the Irish sources. It is not difficult, however, to accept the word of the author of the *Hanes* as to these immediate relationships of Gruffydd ap Cynan, since they are the ones Gruffydd and his followers would longest remember and which bardic researches could most easily discover after his death." (*Hanes*, p. 46.)

[5] *Hanes*, p. 102. His foster father, Cerit, fought with him at the battle of Bron yr Erw (*Hanes*, p. 118).

[6] *Hanes*, p. 46.

[7] "Kywreint oed a huaudel en amravaellyon yeithoet." (*Hanes*, p. 132.)

On the death of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, Trahaearn ap Caradog of Arwystli seized the throne of Gwynedd. When Gruffydd heard this, says the *Life*, "heaviness seized him and he was sad many days. Wherefore he went to the court of King Murchadh,[1] and complained to him in particular and to the other kings of Ireland that a strange race were ruling over his paternal kingdom, and besought them to give him help to seek his patrimony."[2] The Danes and Irish responded generously to this appeal, and in 1075 Gruffydd landed at Abermenai with a large force of Irish and Danish mercenaries and was welcomed by the men of Môn, Arfon and Lleyn.[3] At Gwaet Erw Gruffydd and his allies subsequently won a signal victory over the usurper Trahaearn.

"Born and reared in the midst of the Scandinavians of Leinster and closely related as he was to the ruling house in Dublin, it was natural that Gruffydd should imbibe their sentiments and adopt their manners; so that in the early days of his attempts upon Wales he presented himself to his countrymen rather as an ambitious adventurer than as a Welsh prince coming to his own again. His claims to the kingdom as the grandson of Iago might be valid enough but it is doubtful whether they would have availed him very much without the presence at his side of a formidable force of these Norse mercenaries. It was to them that he trusted and by them he maintained what little supremacy he enjoyed. . . Norsemen and Irishmen were by his side in every battle; they formed his bodyguard in times of peace; they plundered the Welshmen at their pleasure. . . In battle he flourishes the double-edged axe, the distinctive weapon of the Dane and Norwegian (*H. Gr.* p. 137). He rules the Welshmen 'with a rod of iron' but indulges his mercenaries in their 'customary privilege of plunder' (*ib.* pp. 117, 155, 123). They return to their country with ships full of spoil seized from his subjects in Gwynedd[4]. . . He based his power . . . upon the hired support of strange potentates whose ships 'filled with Danes and Irishmen' had long carried ruin and misery to Wales."[5]

[1] Murchadh, son of Diarmaid mac Mael na mBó (*Hanes*, p. 163).

[2] *Hanes*, p. 113. [3] *Ib.*

[4] On one occasion the *Hanes* particularly notes that the "spoil" consisted of men. "Ac emchelut y eu gwlat ac eu llongeu en llawn o deneon a goludoed," p. 122.

[5] *Hanes*, Introd. pp. 47–48.

The men of Lleyn and Eifionydd appear to have resented deeply the presence of Gruffydd's Irish mercenaries, for they fell upon them and slew "fifty-two Irishmen of the knights of Gruffydd and his household."[1] This was but the signal for a general revolt. Gruffydd's rival, Trahaearn, taking advantage of it, attacked and defeated Gruffydd at Bron yr Erw.

It is not necessary to enter here into a detailed account of Gruffydd's campaigns against Welsh usurper and Norman barons. After every defeat he fled to Ireland, there to obtain fresh help to renew his attacks on Gwynedd.[2] The editor of the *Hanes* maintains that Gruffydd from first to last was intimate only with the Scandinavian settlers of Dublin, Waterford and Wexford.[3] This seems to be borne out by the strange absence of any notice of Gruffydd in the extant Irish annals. But we cannot take this negative evidence to prove that Gruffydd had no intercourse with the native Irish or that his mercenary bands were composed solely of pure Norsemen. The Dublin and Waterford Norsemen of this period were on intermittently good terms with native Irish; Irish poets and historians were welcomed not only in the court of the king of Dublin but in the courts of Norse Kings beyond the seas.[4] It is obvious that an exile from Gwynedd would take refuge in Dublin, just as we might expect to find refugees from Dyfed in the Norse settlements at Waterford and Wexford.[5] In those places they would be within easy reach of their native land; among the Norse sea-rovers they would be most likely to obtain the assistance necessary for a successful attack upon Wales. But that many of the mercenaries thus obtained were Irish-speaking is fairly certain.[6]

[1] *Ib.*, p. 118. Mistranslated 220 by the editor of the *Hanes*.

[2] "Gruffydd's intimate relations with Ireland continually held out to him the means of attacking his opponents in Wales, and Irish and Norse allies formed his main support in the three critical situations in his career, at Gwaet Erw, at Mynydd Carn and at Aberlleiniog." (*Hanes*. Introd. p. 50).

[3] *Ib.*, p. 45.

[4] Cp. Introd to Dr. Sigerson's *Bards of the Gael and Gall*.

[5] Thus Gruffydd sailing from Dublin lands at Abermenai (*Hanes*, p. 112). But later, having collected a fleet in Waterford, he sails for Wales and lands at Porthclais, near St. David's (*Hanes*, p. 124).

[6] Throughout the *Hanes* the distinction is made between *Gwyddyl* and *Gwyr Denmarc* (cp. pp. 118, 122 etc.), denoting native Irish and Norse. The editor of the *Hanes* notes that the phonetic spelling of the Irish names in the *Hanes* suggests

Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth, the ally of Gruffydd ap Cynan at the battle of Mynydd Carn, was himself driven from his kingdom by the sons of Bleddyn, and forced to take refuge in Ireland. There he collected a fleet and returning to Wales defeated his opponents at a place called Llych Crei.[1] The Danish-Irish mercenaries appear to have been more than usually exorbitant in their demands on this occasion, *ac y rodes Rys ab Tewdwr diruawr swllt yr llyngesswyr Yscotteit ar Gwyddyl a daethant yn borth idaw.* According to the *Annales Cambriae* Rhys paid his mercenaries in captives, which sounds quite likely.

When, on the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Cadwgan mab Bleddyn and the Norman earls commenced to ravage South Wales, Rhys's young son, Gruffydd was carried by his kindred to Ireland for safety. Here he remained, no doubt among friends of his father, until the year 1113, when, the chronicler tells us, wearied of long estrangement he returned to his patrimony.[2] To Ireland he fled for asylum again in 1127.[3]

Still another refugee among the Irish was Howel ab Ithel, hereditary lord of Rhos and Rhufoniog.[4] The lawless Owain ap Cadwgan found a safe retreat in Ireland in 1110 when his abduction of Nest and burning of the castle of Cenarth Bychan rendered matters dangerous for him in Wales. The *Chronicle of the Princes* tells us that "he was kindly received by Murchath [*recte* Muircheartach] chief king of Ireland, for he [Owain] had formerly been with him and by him he was reared during the war in which Mona was devastated by the two earls. And he [Owain] had been sent together with gifts to Murchath by his

that "the biographer was writing down spoken words strange to his ear." Thus *Muen* for *Mumhain*, *Laine* for *Laighin* (*Laighne*), *Wltw* for *Ultu* etc. This suggests that the oral tradition for these names in the pedigrees and in the history of the campaigns was preserved by an Irishman, a follower of Gruffydd, presumably a court historian. Cp. the statement at the end of the *Hanes* that "Welshmen and Danes lamented the decease of Gruffydd" (p. 156), which would seem to indicate that some of his mercenaries, both native Irish and Norse, settled in Wales during the peaceful closing years of his reign (cp. Introd. p. 41).

[1] *B. T.* s. a. 1087; *Ann. Camb.* s. a. 1087, "Ingentem census captivorum gentilibus et Scotis Res filius Tendur tradidit." Note the distinction made between *gentiles*, the Norse or Norse-Irish and *Scotti*, the Irish. Cp. *Gwyddyl Iwerddon* and *gwyr Dulyn*.

[2] *B. T.* s. a. 1112 (= 1115).

[3] *B. T.* s. a. 1124; *Ann. Camb.* s. a. 1127.

[4] *B. T.* s. a. 1097; *Ann. Camb.* s. a. 1099.

[Owain's]'brother."[1] Owain returned later to Wales, but once more his excesses made it expedient for him to flee to Ireland, this time accompanied by Madog ap Rhiryd. Madog, however, found Irish manners "inhuman" and soon returned.[2]

Owain Gwynedd, the famous son of Gruffydd ap Cynan, had recourse to his father's allies in his war against the Normans in Ceredigion. A Danish fleet of fifteen ships crossed to Aberteifi, probably from Dublin. The Norman garrison of Cardigan Castle held out stoutly, and the Welsh and their allies effected nothing. The Irish mercenaries seem to have missed what the biographer of Gruffydd calls their "customary privilege of plunder." They indemnified themselves, however, by sacking the Benedictine settlement at St. Dogmael's and bore off a large booty to their ships.[3] Owain was unfortunate in all his dealings with the Irish. His brother Cadwaladr collected a fleet of Danish mercenaries in Dublin in 1144 against Owain. The fleet landed at Abermenai. But before a conflict could take place the two brothers were reconciled, whereupon the Irish and Danes took Cadwaladr captive and demanded a ransom of two thousand bondsmen. A battle was fought between Irish and Welsh, and Owain was victorious.[4]

Thus from the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century, while the Welsh fought with varying success against marcher lords and English king, they looked upon Ireland as the natural refuge where they might hope for asylum and for aid against their enemies. The names of the more important refugees have been preserved. With this scanty material

[1] *B. T.* s. a. 1109 (p. 93); *Ann. Camb.* s. a. 1110. Owain was taken to Ireland by Gruffydd ap Cynan and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, his son-in-law (*Hanes*, p. 143 and 178 n. 12).

[2] *B. T.* s. a. 1110 (p. 105). "A gwedy yehydic o amser yd ymchoelawd Madawc ap Ridit o Iwerdon heb allel godef andynolyon voesseu y Gwydyl, ac Owain a drigyawd yno yn y ol dalym o amser." The disagreement and antipathy of Irish and Welsh is noticeable throughout all Welsh history. Cp. treatment of Gruffydd's mercenaries by the men of Lleyn, and Eulogy on Gruffydd by Meilyr (*M. A.* I, 192) with its uncomplimentary epithets for Gruffydd's Irishmen. See Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 473. An instance of the modern unpleasant connotation of the word *Gwyddyl* to Welsh ears occurs in Daniel Owen's novel, *Rhys Lewis*, c. IV.

[3] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, pp. 475—476; Barbier, *Age of Owain Gwynedd*, pp. 15—16.

[4] *B. T.* s. a. 1143; *Ann. Camb.* s. a. 1144, where it is stated that Cadwaladr offered 2,000 slaves as payment to the Danes.

we can form for ourselves a picture of the close intercourse between eastern Ireland and Wales all through the period, when great fleets of Norse-Irish and Irish were continually sailing across the narrow strip of sea to fight the cause of the Welsh and returning home, their ships laden with treasure and with captives for the slave markets.[1]

WELSH ELEMENT IN ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION OF IRELAND

The Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland was headed by Anglo-Norman knights from Dyfed.[2] The Flemings of South Wales also played a large part in the invasion. For the year 1169 the *Four Masters* have the following entry: *Loingeas na Fflemendach do thocht a Saxaibh hi sochraide meic Murchadha, i. Diarmuda, do chosnamh righe Laighean do.* On this Orpen has a note in his *Song of Dermot and the Earl*: "The *Four Masters* were not far wrong in calling the fleet a Flemish one. Apart from the leaders who, with the exception of Maurice de Prendergast, were half Norman, half Welsh, the little army was no doubt largely composed of mercenaries drawn from the Flemish settlements in the neighbourhood of Haverfordwest."[3] On the other hand, Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that Robert Fitz Stephen, who landed in Ireland in 1169, was accompanied by 300 archers on foot, "the flower of the youth of Wales." "But," says Orpen, "though the names of many of the early settlers in Ireland can be traced to South Wales and especially to Pembrokeshire, there is not much positive evidence that many men of pure Welsh descent settled at this time in Ireland. The names are for the most part apparently Norman or English, with only an occasional Welsh name but with, in Wexford especially, a fair sprinkling of what seem to be Flemish names. Names, however, are not always conclusive of origin."[4]

[1] The Norse-Irish traded largely in slaves at this period, and their markets were often availed of by the Welsh for selling their captives of war. Cp. Barbier, *Age of Owain Gwynedd*, pp. 7, 34.

[2] For the direct influence of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland on the course of events in Wales see Lloyd, *History of Wales*, pp. 537–538.

[3] Orpen, *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, p. 265.

[4] Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, I, p. 149. Cp. also Owen, *Old Pembrokeshire Families*, pp. 2, 10, 19, 68, 85; and H. F. Hore, "On Irish Families of Welsh Extraction," *Arch. Camb.* 1852, N. S. vol. III, pp. 127ff. In the last-named work,

This conclusion of Orpen's does not agree with the common Irish tradition that there were large settlements of Welsh adventurers in Ireland in the 12th and following centuries. Thus the 17th century antiquary and genealogist, Duald mac Firbis, wrote a tract on the Welshmen of Tirawley (*Do Bhreathnuibh i n-Íbh Amhalgaidh mic Fiachrach*), in which he gives an account of a Welsh settlement made in the 13th century in Tirawley in North Connacht.[1] According to Mac Firbis the Irish families of Barrett, Joyce, Mac Hale, Wallace, Tomlyn, Hosty and Lawless (to mention but the most important) are descended from these Welsh settlers. Besides this Connacht settlement, there is a tradition of a Welsh colony in Antrim. Conell Mac Geoghagan, the 17th century translator of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, after recording the death in 1404 of Thomas Barrett, Bishop of Elphin, adds the note: "The families of Barrets, Cusacks and McWellens [*i. e.* McQuillin] of the roote [*i. e.* of the Route, North Antrim] are Welsh and came from Wales to this land."[2]

It is instructive to note the names of the families which these Irish accounts give as of Welsh descent. The Barets came from the neighbourhood of Carmarthen and appear to have been of Norman origin.[3] The Joyces or Joces were common in S. Wales and appear frequently in the records.[4] The name is French, a corruption of *Joyeux*. The name Cusack is a Flemish one.[5] The names which appear to be Welsh are MacQuillin, which according to O'Donovan is a corruption of Mac Llywelyn[6] and Mac Hale, supposed to be a corruption of Mac Hoel (Hywel).

Hore uses the word "Welsh" in a very loose sense. His object avowedly is "to prove the connection between the ancient Englishry of the Emerald Isle and the Norman, Saxon and Flemish conquerors of South Wales." He gives no names of purely Welsh settlers.

[1] O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 324—339. In connection with the settlement in North Connacht it is noteworthy that Walsh, the 4th commonest surname in all Ireland and the commonest of the non-native names, is the commonest name in Mayo to-day. The name Barrett is also very common in the same district. There were probably two distinct Barrett families. The Cork Barretts are in Irish *Baróid* (cp. the barony called *Baróideacha*) while the Connacht Barretts are *Bairéad*.

[2] *Ann. Clon.* ed. Murphy, p. 324. The MacQuillins of the Route (*Meg Uighilin an Rúta*) are referred to by Mac Firbis, *op. cit.* p. 324.

[3] Henry Owen, *Old Pembrokeshire Families*, p. 117. [4] *Ib.*, p. 62.

[5] Hore, *On Irish Families of Welsh Extraction*, p. 127.

[6] O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 324. The identification of Mac Hale with Hywel is doubtful.

Thus the so-called Welsh settlers were, as far as names prove, mostly of Norman and Flemish extraction. Nor is it difficult to understand why these Flemings and Normans should have been called Welshmen. *Breathnach* in modern Irish denotes a Welshman but the original meaning of the word is an inhabitant of *Breatain,* of Wales, not necessarily of Welsh descent or Welsh-speaking. Hence Strongbow and Fitz Stephen and de Prendergast might well be designated *Breathnaigh,* Welshmen. The invaders came to Ireland from Wales. In this sense, then, the Barretts, Cusacks etc. were "Welsh." It is, of course, safe to conclude that there were many pure Welshmen among the rank and file of the invading army.[1] But on the whole it seems advisable to minimise, with Orpen, the Welsh settlements in Ireland at this period.

Mention may be made here of the frequent occurrence of place-names in Ireland which are taken as a proof of Welsh settlements.[2] There are numerous places called *Baile Breathnach* or *Baile na mBreathnach*, anglicised Ballybrannock, Brannockstown, Welshtown etc.[3] The following list shows how widespread is the name:

Ballybrannagh,	Co. Kerry, Co. Down.
Ballybranagh,	Co. Cork.
Ballynabrannagh,	Co. Fermanagh, Co. Cork.
Ballynabrennagh,	Co. Kerry.
Brannockstown,	Co. Kildare, Co. Westmeath, Co. Meath.
Ballybrennock,	Co. Waterford.
Ballynabranagh or Walshstown,	Co. Carlow.

Keating states that "it was from the Welsh exiles who came to live in Ireland that townlands in Ireland are named *Baile na mBreathnach, Gráig na mBreathnach, Dún na mBreathnach* etc."[4] There are Walsh Mountains (*Sliabh Breathnach*) in Co. Kilkenny. The name *Briotan*, an earlier form of *Breathnach*, occurs in other

[1] See Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, pp. 303—304: "The rank and file of the invaders were Welshmen and Flemings... If the testimony of Giraldus is not biassed on the point, the only effective field forces which the invaders commanded consisted of Welshmen."

[2] So taken by Meyer, *Early Relations between Gael and Brython*, p. 76.

[3] Cp. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, II, pp. 122—123.

[4] Keating, *Forus Feasa*, II, p. 68

place-names: Kilbrittain, Co. Cork; Gartbratton, Co. Cavan; Ballybrittain, King's Co.; Ballybrittain, Co. Derry.[1]

According to Joyce the name *Breathnach* in place names is "generally understood" to mean not a Welshman but a person named Walsh or Welsh. Thus Ballybrannagh signifies "the town of the Walshes or of the families called Walshe." It may be argued that the surname Walsh or Welsh (Ir. *Breathnach*) denoted a person of Welsh descent, a Welshman.[2] But in view of the fact that *Breathnach* was used loosely and applied to Norman and Flemish settlers from S.Wales, it would be rash to assume that every Ballybrannagh or Ballybrittain in Ireland was the site of a Welsh settlement.

With the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland ended the free and direct intercourse of Irish and Welsh. The later history of Wales, at least in as far as it concerns Ireland, is one with that of England. The eastern sea-board of Ireland was now in the hands of the Anglo-Normans. The Irish, themselves engaged in a life and death struggle with the invaders, could afford no help of fleets and mercenaries for the Welsh. Ireland was no longer a safe retreat for Welsh princelings. In Wales the resistance to English domination lasted a century longer; in Ireland, it lasted for many centuries.

LATER INTERCOURSE

Though the earlier free intercourse of two independent nations had ceased, yet from time to time in the later centuries we find Welsh and Irish in touch once more. Disaffected Welsh lords would still look for aid to the "rebellious Irish."[3] There are

[1] Cp. Joyce, *op. cit.* p. 123.

[2] Cp. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, I, p. 148n: "Even the 'to-name' le Waleis (afterwards Walsh) does not necessarily imply pure Welsh blood. Raymond le Gros had a nephew David, 'agnomine Walensis non cognomine, natione Kambrensis non cognatione' (*Gir. Camb.* V, 321)."

[3] For one such probable instance see Laws, *Little England beyond Wales*, pp. 238—239. See also *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, vol. I, pp. 123—124 for an autograph letter of Thady O'Roddy written c. 1700: "For Welsh manuscripts I saw none, but had eighteen letters in my custody before the last warre of 1688, being letters from the Kings of Ireland to the princes of Wales and from the said princes to our Kings and nobility at several times and upon several occasions etc. I hope to get them into my hands again." The letter is bound up with a vellum MS. in T. C. D. (H. 2.16) which once belonged to the

many indications of the commerce and enterprise of Ireland up to Tudor times, and Irish traders were no doubt familiar with the ports of South Wales as they were with such ports as Bristol, Chester and Liverpool.[1] Wales, too, was always the nearest coast for Irish exiles and fugitives, and fugitives from Ireland were many during years of massacres and confiscations.

A large immigration of Irish into Pembrokeshire took place in the early 16th century. The following remarkable letter was sent by "R. Gruffithe"[2] to Cardinal Wolsey in 1528:[3]

"Pleasith it youre moost noble Grace, my dutie of mooste humble recommendacions hadde unto your Grace, as apperteynyth, sygnyfyinge unto the same your moost noble Grace, that there is so gret aboundance of Irisshemen latelye comyn within these XII monethes into Pembrokeshire, the Lordship of Haverforde West, and so alongest the see syde to Saynt Davyes, and within the townes of Haverforde West, Pembroke and Tenbye, with such that be comyn theder before and inhabited there that by estymacion do amount at the leste to the nombre of twentye thousande persons and above, of all maner sorte, and the mooste part of the same Raskells be out of the domynyons of the Kings Rebellyon therle of Desmonde; and verey fewe of theym out of the Englisshe pale of Irelande. And the Kings Towne of Tenbye is almost cleane Irisshe as well the hedde men and ruelers as the comyns of the said Towne; and of their highe and presumptuoux myndes doo dissobey all maner the Kings processe that comyth to theym out of the Kings Eschequyer of Pembroke, supposyng that their Charter woll bere thym therin, where of truethe thair

celebrated antiquary Ed. Lhuyd, and it was doubtless in answer to queries put by Lhuyd that O'Roddy wrote it. The letters referred to by O'Roddy may of course have dated from an early period; indeed the reference to the Kings of Ireland makes it probable that they did.

[1] See A. S. Green, *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing*, pp. 33, 34, 144.

[2] Sir Rhys ap Griffith, a personal friend of Wolsey. For attainder and execution of Sir Rhys in 1531 see *State Papers*, vol. V, 563; Laws's *Little England beyond Wales*, pp. 238—239.

[3] Ellis's *Original Letters*, Series I, vol. I, 191; *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. III, Part II, App. 44, and vol. IV, Part II, 4485 where the date is given as 1528. The letter is quoted by T. D'Arcy McGee in *Life of Art Mac Murrogh* (Dublin 1847), p. 119, and by Laws, *Little England beyond Wales*, p. 236. Laws failed to identify "R. Gruffithe". See also *Calendar of Public Records relating to Pembrokeshire* (Cymm. Record Series, 7), ed. Henry Owen, I, 33.

Charter is no thyng like so large of liberties as they do clayme it to be. And one of them caulled Germyn Gruffith,[1] borne under the domynyon of the said Erle, is nowe owner of two great Shipps well appoynted with ordonaunces; and it is dailye proved by experyence that fewe or none of Englysshemen or Welshemen can or be receyvyd amongs theym to anye service or wages. And the last yere I herde of a grete noumbre of the same Irisshemen that were cast over lande upon the cost within the said shere, whereupon I made a preveye watche, and in two little parisshes in one nyght I gadered of theym above two hundered that were newe comyn besids as monye that were comyn there before; and all the same new Company I did sende to See agayne, Albeit, sythyn, they be comyn agen with monye moo: and every on that comythe dothe clayme kynred to one or other of the same shire, townes, and countre foresaid.[2] And every sythyn that I expulsed the said new comyn Irisshemen out of the countre as before, the rest do grudge agaynst me. And of truethe in all the said circuete there be four Irysshe agaynste one Englisshe or Welshe; and therefore, after my power mynde, it were expedyent and necessarye that the King's Highenes with his most honorable Counsaill shulde ponder the same and devise some order to be takyn, aswel for th' avoiding of the moost part of thym as alsoe that noo man within that parties shall reteigne any that shall come out of Irlande thither, at any tyme herafter into thair service, upon a certayne penaltye; and ells they shall never be woren out, but increas more and more. And furden sygnyfying unto your moost noble Grace that the Mayor and Towne of Tenby have commyted and don mony great ryotts, rowtes, and unlefull assembles agaynst the King's lawes, his peax, crowne and dignyte with diverse extorcions, as shall appear by divers indictaments remaynynge agaynst theym in the King's Records of Pembroke. And also it shal be duely

[1] Laws (*Little England*, p. 236) states that "Germin Gruffith" was Bailiff of Tenby in 1526. The name seems very un-Irish.

[2] Laws (*Little England*, p. 237) takes this to imply that the immigrants "had very little if any Gaelic blood in their veins, but were tho descendants of the Pembrokeshire host who overran Ireland in the 12th century under the leadership of Fitz Stephen," but these descendants would by the 16th century have become "Hibernicis Hiberniores."

proved that they have ayded and vittailed the Kyng's enymyes at sundrye tymes, and that as shal pleas at King's Highenes and your most noble Grace to commaunde me to do, concernyng any order that shal be takyn concernyng the premyssis shal be accomplisshed with all diligence to the uttremost of my litle power; as knoweth God who ever preserve your moost noble Grace in felicitie. From Carmarden the VIII daye of this July etc.

Your Humble Servaunt
R. Gruffithe."

It is a noteworthy point that most of these immigrants came from Desmond. In all the cities of Southern Ireland Earl James is said to have kept retainers and factors for foreign trade, and to have aimed at building up a fleet to command the Irish Channel.[1] It was no doubt part of his policy to obtain control of the port of Tenby.[2] It may not have been solely because of their "ryotts and rowtes" that Sir Rhys wished to drive the Irishmen from South Wales. It was probably for the same reason which caused Irish weavers to be driven from the looms of Bristol a century earlier, and which inspired the order to Bristol hoopers to take no Irish rebel as apprentice, namely, trade competition.[3] It does not appear, however, that any measures were taken against the Irish of South Wales in response to this appeal to Wolsey.

In the reign of Elizabeth, George Owen writing a description of Pembrokeshire noted that the county had a numerous population of "Iryshemen which doe dayelye fferrye over thither out of Ireland." "As for the Irishmen," he says, "they are so powdred among the Inhabitants of Rowse [Roose] and Castlemartyn that in everye village you shall find the thirde, fourth or fift householder an Irishman, and nowe of late they swarme more than in tymes past, by reason of these late warres in Ireland; and if it soe contynue for the tyme to come, in shorte tyme they are like to match the other inhabitants in

[1] See *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing*, pp. 27—28.

[2] For documents relating to the trade of the port of Tenby see *Calendar of Public Records relating to Pembrokeshire*, vol. III, pp. 245 ff. These reveal the existence of important commercial relations with Ireland as also with England, France, Spain and Portugal.

[3] See *The Making of Ireland*, p. 144.

nomber: these for the most part speake and use here the Englishe tongue, yett in such sorte as that all men may discerne them to be that Countrey people, as alsoe by the rudeness of theire manners, for the servante will usuallye thow [*i. e.* thou, *tutoie*] his maister and thinketh it noe offence, as manye as come out of the Countey of Weisford saye, they understande noe Irishe, neither doe anye well understande his Englishe, they are soe increased that there are some whole parishes inhabited by the Irishe, haveinge not one Englishe or Welshe but the parson of the parishe, and these Irishe people here doe use theire Countrey trade in making of aquavitie in great aboundaunce, which they carrye to be soulde a broade the Countrey on horse backs and otherwise."[1]

The wars referred to by Owen were those known as Tyrone's Rebellion. Many of the exiles must have settled down permanently in Pembrokeshire. Henry Owen, the editor of George Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, asserts that the descendants of these Irishmen can still be traced. The passage just quoted seems to show that some at least of the immigrants from Ireland spoke Irish as their native tongue. It is interesting to note what George Owen says of the Wexford Irish: "they saye they understande noe Irishe, neither doe anye well understande his Englishe." It was in this district of Ireland that a colony of Flemings settled at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion. They never completely amalgamated with the surrounding Irish, and they spoke a peculiar dialect of English traces of which existed as late as the 18th century.[2]

During the period of the Irish Famine there was some immigration of Irish into Wales. These unfortunate Irishmen, hungry and poverty-stricken, may well have given rise to the disparaging connotation of the word *Gwyddel* in modern Wales. George Borrow in his excursion in Wales in 1854 met many of these Irish immigrants, vagrants and tinkers for the most part.[3] They were looked upon with little favour by the Welsh. According to the Welsh guide who accompanied Borrow from

[1] *Description of Penbrokeshire*, by George Owen of Henllys (1552—1613), ed. by Henry Owen, Cymmrodorion Society, p. 40. The *Description* was written c. 1603.

[2] See Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, I, pp. 396—397 n.

[3] George Borrow, *Wild Wales*. See chapters iv, xiv, xvii, xxv, xxvii, xli, xcv. c, cv, cviii.

Llangollen to Ruthin, the *Gwyddelod* had begun to infest that district about twenty years previously. They had taken the place of the Gipsies and were "savage, brutish people, in general without shoes and stockings, with coarse features and heads of hair like mops." The men tinkered and the women told fortunes. To the Welsh they spoke English "good English, on which they prided themselves," but among themselves they spoke Irish.[1] Irish-speaking harvesters used to come in great numbers to Wales at this period. Borrow relates an encounter with "two or three dozen of Irish reapers" on Holyhead pier[2]

With the discovery and working of the valuable iron- and coal-fields of South Wales, there was added a fresh attraction for Irish labourers in search of work. Irish traders settled in Cardiff and Newport, and Irishmen sought and obtained employment in the docks and mines. Relations between the Irish workers and the Welsh were not always friendly.[3] In part the friction would appear to have been due to trade jealousy, the Irish labourers often being content with a smaller wage than the Welsh. Religious differences may also have contributed to the ill-feeling which existed between Irish and Welsh workers and which sometimes led to disturbances and rioting. The most serious case of friction was that known as the Tredegar Riots which occurred in 1882. Here Welsh dislike of the Irish in the colliery districts was aggravated by the indignation roused by the "Phoenix Park murders." The Irish colony in Tredegar was attacked by a furious mob. Many were injured and their houses wrecked. The disturbance was quelled after some days, but peaceful relations between the Irish and Welsh workers were not restored for a considerable time.[4]

[1] *Ib.* chap. xiv. According to Borrow's Welsh guide, a glen near Llangollen called Pant y Gwyddel was so named because it was a favourite camping-ground of these Irish tinkers. Possibly some of the *Gwyddel* place-names recorded by Basil Jones (*Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*) may be similarly explained. For an interesting account of an Irish colony in Cardiganshire, see *Arch. Camb.*, 1859, vol. V, p. 306. Beddoe (*Races of Britain*, pp. 26—27) notes the presence of Irish physical types in Wales, probably to be accounted for by these late immigrations.

[2] *Wild Wales*, ch. xli.

[3] See C. Wilkins, *History of Iron, Steel and Tinplate Trades*, (Merthyr 1903), p. 182, for references to Irish workers and their feuds with Welsh.

[4] See Elliot O'Donnell, *The Irish Abroad*, (London 1915), pp. 159—161.

Since 1882 the number of Irish in South Wales has slowly increased. At the present day the Irish engaged in the South Wales coal-mines and in the docks at Cardiff, Newport and Barry are estimated at about 100.000. In North Wales, however, the Irish element in the population is inconsiderable.

NINETEENTH CENTURY POLITICAL RELATIONS.

The national movement in Ireland in the latter half of the 19th century attracted widespread interest among Welshmen. The national awakening of Wales dates back to the Methodist revival of the 18th century and the subsequent development of Welsh periodical literature. But the growth of Welsh nationalism was stimulated and encouraged by the example of Ireland, and the political life of Wales in the late 19th century was influenced by Irish events and Irish politics. The demand for special legislation to meet the requirements of Wales owed its inspiration to the Irish national movement. The disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869 gave a powerful impetus to the movement for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and helped to bring what had hitherto been merely a religious question into the arena of politics. In the 'eighties Wales watched with interest the obstructionist tactics of Parnell and his party in Parliament, and Welshmen began to advocate the formation of a strong Welsh national party on the lines of the Irish party, with a definite national policy to include Church disestablishment and eventually self-government for Wales.[1] The Welsh periodicals of the time, *Y Cronicl, Y Dysgedydd, Cymru Fydd,* deal frequently with the Irish question, and invariably they point the moral: what the Irish party can do for Ireland, the Welsh members can and should do for Wales. It was pointed out that all the main arguments in favour of Irish self-government were equally applicable to the case of Wales.

The influence and example of the Irish roused to a keener sense of their own nationalism many individual Welshmen, notably two outstanding Welsh politicians: T. E. Ellis, who has been called "the Parnell of Wales" and D. Lloyd George. The

[1] See *Cymru Fydd*, 1888, pp. 387—392. 617 ff.; *Y Cronicl*, 1885, p. 321; 1887, pp. 286—288.

works of the Irish patriot Thomas Davis, himself half-Welsh by birth, had much influence on Ellis, and his championship of the Irish cause led him naturally to the advocation of Home Rule for Wales. Mr. Lloyd George was ardently in favour of Welsh Home Rule in 1890. At a later period Mr. E. T. John again brought the question to the front, asserting that the concession of national self-government to Ireland necessarily implied and involved the grant of similar facilities to Wales.[1]

Remarkable sympathy and support were given by Welshmen to the Irish cause in the last two decades of the century.[2] The Home Rule Bill of 1886 received practically unanimous support from the Welsh members. In many of the Welsh periodicals of the time Welshmen write warmly and sympathetically of Ireland, of her wrongs and sufferings, and of the unfailing support of Wales upon which she may count. *Y Cronicl,* which had an extensive circulation and wielded considerable influence in the Principality, espoused the Irish cause whole-heartedly.[3] So also did *Cymru Fydd.*[4] It is perhaps open to question whether the mass of Welsh people endorsed the sympathetic views expressed in such periodicals.[5] For many reasons, not least of which was the difference of religion, there had long been scant sympathy between the Irish and Welsh people. But the parliamentary representatives of the Welsh undoubtedly gave as they claimed "undivided and unqualified support to the cause of Irish reform."[6] Yet though in-

[1] See E. T. John, *Home Rule for Wales;* G. O. Griffith, *The New Wales.* For the measure of support given to the Welsh Home Rule Movement, see J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *A Study in Nationality,* pp. 426—437.

[2] As an illustration of popular Welsh support of the Irish movement see an account of an enthusiastic meeting of Welsh miners held in Blaenau Ffestiniog c. 1888 in W. O'Brien's *Evening Memories* (1920), p. 352 n.

[3] *Y Cronicl,* 1885, p. 321; 1887, pp. 154—155, 286—288, 319.

[4] *Cymru Fydd,* 1888, pp. 20 ff., and especially an article "Wales and Ireland", pp. 33—35; pp. 387—392; 1891, pp. 45, 111.

[5] The many Welsh publications of the period, of violently anti-Irish character, must not be overlooked. Nine pamphlets were published by Cymdeithas y Wasg Undebol Gymreig, c. 1889. The titles of some, *Gladstone-Addoliaeth yn Nghymru, Gwyddeleiddio Cymru, Y Berw Gwyddelig,* will show their attitude. *Goleuni ar Gyfiwr yr Iwerddon* by Rev. O. Lloyd Jones, Llandinam, and *Cynydd yr Iwerddon o 1886 i 1890* by the same author were also anti-Home Rule pamphlets.

[6] *Cymru Fydd,* 1888, p. 33.

dividual members such as T. E. Ellis had genuine sympathy with and understanding of Irish grievances, with many of the Welsh representatives support of Ireland was perhaps a policy rather than a conviction. In return for Welsh votes the Irish party were ready to give active support to any measure taken up by the Welsh Liberals, in particular the disestablishment of the Welsh Church.[1] Moreover the Irish Home Rule battle was fought on the ground of the rights and claims of nationality. The Welsh realised that the only hope for Welsh Church disestablishement lay in first getting England to acknowledge Welsh nationality. Thus Ireland's fight was to some extent also the fight of Wales. It has been suggested, too, that the interest taken by Wales in the Irish Home Rule Bill was "due more to the glamour of Gladstone's name than to an understanding of the intricacies of the Bill or even to an appreciation of its justice or its expediency."[2]

Though Wales has on the whole shown little sympathy with Ireland in the present century, yet we may note that it was a Welshman who made the last great attempt to settle the Irish question. It was a Welsh Prime Minister of England who conducted the negotiations between Ireland and England which led to the signing of the Treaty in December 1921.

[1] See letter from John Dillon M. P. to the Editor in *Cymru Fydd*, 1888, pp. 45—46; also *Cymru Fydd*, 1891, pp. 111 ff., and *Y Cronicl*, 1893, pp. 92—93.

[2] J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *A Study in Nationality*, p. 426.

III. LITERARY RELATIONS OF IRELAND AND WALES

ESSENTIAL KINSHIP OF WELSH AND IRISH LITERATURE

As is but to be expected, there is an essential similarity in Irish and Welsh literature, a kinship of tone and spirit, a similar basis of mythology and folklore, the common heritage of these two Celtic "stocks," the Welsh and the Irish, derived from a common ancestry, the Celtic group of the Aryan family. It is just such a kinship as we find in a broader and vaguer degree between all the widely separated Aryan races. To this community of mythic tradition are to be ascribed the many striking parallelisms between Welsh and Irish heroic saga.[1]

The chief of these parallels is that furnished by the stories of Arthur among the Britons and of Fionn among the Irish. "It can, I think, scarcely be denied," says Nutt, "that the groups of mythic-heroic legend associated respectively with the names of Finn-Mongan in Ireland and of Arthur in England, are largely made up of identical traditional material, and may, in fact, be regarded as variant forms of a common heroic myth . . . Earlier than and underlying the heroic legends of Finn, Arthur and Mongan, I assume that among the Celtic-speaking inhabitants of these islands, Goidels and Brythons both, there was current the tale of a wonderchild, begotten upon a mortal mother by a supernatural father — reincarnated in him, or transmitting to him supernatural gifts and powers — associated with his father in the rule of that Land of Faery to which he passes after his death. Such a tale would be the

[1] See Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, *Celtic Folklore* and *Arthurian Legend*. Rhys, however, was not always very reliable, and some of his parallels are obtained by stretching the Welsh and Irish tales on the Procrustean bed of his solar theory — what Loth aptly terms "la solarisation à outrance." Many parallels have also been discussed by Nutt in the *Voyage of Bran*, I & II.

natural framework into which to fit the life-story of any famous tribal hero." [1]

Besides the similarity of the birth-stories and the youth of Fionn and Arthur, there is another point of resemblance between the Welsh and the Irish hero, namely, the infidelity of the hero's wife with his nephew. This incident in the Arthurian saga is referred to by Geoffrey of Monmouth; in the Irish cycle of Fionn we can trace it back to the 10th century, for it is alluded to in the commentary on the *Amra Choluimb Chilli*.[2]

Further a striking parallel to the numerous Irish tales of transformation and miraculous rebirth is found in the *Ḥanes Taliessin*, a well-known Welsh tale which in its manuscript form cannot be dated further back than the late 16th century but which undoubtedly contains elements of considerable antiquity. "Indeed of all the products of Welsh romance," says Nutt, "the *Hanes Taliessin* is the one that testifies most strongly to community of mythic tradition between the race to which it is due and the Goidels of Ireland." [3] So, too, the obscure poem *Kat Godeu* in the *Book of Taliessin*, which enumerates the many strange metamorphoses of Taliessin, has been compared to the Irish story of the transformations of Tuan mac Cairill, an Irish hero, brother to Partholon the first man who came to Ireland, who was fabled to have passed through various existences in animal shape and survived until the 6th century A. D.[4] In the poem *Kat Godeu* the transformations of Taliessin, not only into animal form but also into forces and properties of nature, have a remarkable Irish parallel in the song of Amairgen the son of Mil, who when the Milesians invaded Ireland is said to have burst forth into a rhapsody:

"I am the wind which blows over the sea
I am the wave of the deep etc." [5]

[1] *Voyage of Bran*, II, pp. 23—28. The parallels between these Irish and Welsh tales have been further elaborated by W. J. Gruffydd, *The Mabinogion, Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—1913, pp. 63—80.

[2] Cp. Nutt, *Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula among the Celts. Folklore Record*, IV, and in *R. C.* XII, pp. 189—190.

[3] Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, pp. 84—89. Cp. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 611 ff.

[4] *Ib.* p. 91.

[5] But cp. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, Pref. to *Bk. Taliessin*, iv–v, where he suggests that "at Basingwerk Abbey or at the court of Owain Gwynedd [the

On this Nutt comments: "Amairgen chief poet of the race which is to conquer the Tuatha De Danann, the lords of Faery, and Taliessin, chief of the Welsh poets, son of the enemy of the goddess of the cauldron, the Welsh counterpart of the Irish Tuatha De, may be regarded as varying forms of one mythic original."[1]

There is proof, if proof were needed, that these fundamental resemblances between the *données* of Welsh and Irish tales go back to the period of a mythology common to both branches of the Celts. The Welsh tales have a close kinship not with older Irish mythico-romance alone, but also with modern Gaelic folk-tales, both Irish and Scottish Gaelic, as Campbell pointed out in his *Highland Tales*. "It is impossible," he says, "to read the text of the *Mabinogion* and the notes [referring to Lady Guest's translation and notes, published 1838] without seeing the strong resemblance which these traditions bear to modern Gaelic popular tales . . . a pervading resemblance interwoven throughout and which pervades in a less degree the whole system of popular tales."[2] Referring further to the Welsh tale of *Kulhwch ac Olwen*, he says: "When I first read this Welsh story, it was like a confused dream made up of fragments from all that I had read and collected during the last two years."[3] A Latin Arthurian story, *Arthur and the Werewolf*, has been edited by Prof. G. L. Kittredge who studied the developments of the tale and its parallels.[4] One of the sources of the tale was undoubtedly a Welsh folk-tale about Arthur,

12th century] Taliessin might very well have met an Irishman or Irish scholar who repeated these lines of Amergin in his hearing." "It is fatuous folly," he adds, "to imagine that early Welsh literature is a thing apart. This creative parallelism between Taliessin and Amergin is too close to be mere coincidence."

[1] *Voyage of Bran*, II, p. 92. Another point of resemblance between W. and Ir. lit. may be noted here. The lament for past days, and a bitter resentment against old age and its attendant evils are a characteristic note of one of the great cycles of Gaelic romance, the poems put in the mouth of Oisin son of Fionn. This can be paralleled in Welsh in the poems attributed to the 6th cent. Llywarch Hên, which depict him the last warrior of the struggle against the Saxon, lamenting his youthful prowess. "One can hardly fail to be struck by the kinship of tone between the Gaelic poems ascribed to Oisin, and the Welsh ones ascribed to Llywarch Hên," (Nutt, Introd. *Campbell's Fians, Waifs and Strays*, vol. IV, p. xxxiv).

[2] *Popular Tales of the Western Highlands*, IV, p. 251.

[3] *Ib.* p. 265.

[4] *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, (1903); cp. Nutt, *Folklore*, XV, (1904).

a close parallel to which is furnished by a widely-spread Gaelic folk-tale. Furthermore a striking testimony to this basic community of legend in Irish and Welsh literature is afforded by the fact that it is in Irish literature rather than in Welsh that many of the parallels to incidents in the Arthurian romances are to be found, and Irish literature, ancient and modern, written and oral, has been of far greater service than Welsh in proving the Celtic origin of the Grail legend.[1]

Many other parallels and similarities, due to an original community of myth and legend, have been noted. Thus the children of Don in the Welsh tales of the Four Branches have been equated with the Irish Tuatha Dé Danann, one of the mythic colonies of early Ireland. Govannon mab Don is the Welsh counterpart of the Irish Goibniu the Smith (gen. Goibnenn).[2]

[1] See Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*; Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, and in *R. C.* XII, pp. 181 ff., "Derniers travaux allemands sur la légende du Saint Graal." See *Appendix, infra.*

[2] A nominative form *Goibnenn* occurs in the *Battle of Moytura* (*R. C.* XII, p. 92) and also in the St. Gall incantation. It appears thus to have been an older or a variant form. A *Goibnenn mac Lurnig* is mentioned in *TBC*, ed. Windisch, l. 389. Cp. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, 319. The Irish sea-god Manannán mac Lir is generally equated with the Welsh Manawyddan mab Llyr. Scholars have frequently commented on the strange fact that no trace of his sea-divinity has survived in the Welsh tales. Zimmer (*Auf welchem Wege*, p. 27 n) suggests that the Irish Manannán mac Lir is borrowed from the Welsh. It is, he says, a learned borrowing, of the 5th—7th cents. The Welsh MS. form was *Manauidan* which by a misreading analogous to that which gave Iona for Ioua (*Io, Hi*) gave Ir. *Mananidán* which by the rule of Ir. accent became *Manandán*. Zimmer connects the name with the British name for the Isle of Man (*Manan*) which was borrowed into Irish as *Mana, Manann*. In Irish tales Manannán is connected with the Isle of Man; and the account of him given in Cormac's *Glossary*, hitherto looked upon as a euhemeristic or rationalising passage, states that he was a famous merchant from the Isle of Man, gifted in weatherlore. In Irish literature he is the ruler of the oversea Otherworld, an island. He is mentioned as coming "from the East." In one instance the name of this Otherworld is given as *Inis Falga*, an Irish name for the Isle of Man (cp. *Voyage of Bran* passim and especially, p. 213). We may note the name *Mag Mon* (translated by Meyer, "Plain of Sports"), the home of Manannán in the *Voyage of Bran*. The Welsh Manawyddan mab Llyr would thus be a warrior from Manaw. Manannán's sea-divinity might have arisen from the fact that there already existed in Irish a word *ler* gen. *lir* (mod. Ir. *lear*) meaning "sea". For Welsh *llyr*, "sea", see *M. A.* 230 a 34, 249 b; *Bk. Tal.* 9, 4; 66, 26; *BBC.* 65, 14. Windisch (*Das keltische Brittanien*, pp. 112—113) derives the W. Manawyddan from a form *Manau* and the Ir. Manannán from *Mana* gen. *Manann*. With this derivation

But though these fundamental resemblances between Irish and Welsh literature are due in part to a community of mythic legends, in part they are also due to the similarity of historic conditions, social, legal and institutional, in both countries during the period of development of these literatures (6th—7th centuries). "In both [Welsh and Irish communities] social organisation is still in that tribal stage out of which the Greek and Roman kinsmen of Irish and Welsh had passed centuries before, and had, when they came into contact with Celtdom, utterly forgotten. In both, legal theory and practice have but slightly progressed beyond the stage of universal private warfare — atonement for wrong-doing is made by compensation to the private sufferer, and not by state-exacted punishment. In both, the obligations of blood-revenge are paramount . . . both have an elaborate classification into ranks, a precise scale for estimating the worth and station of every individual. Both have but recently emerged from a theocratic stage, if the word be applicable to a state in which the soothsayer and spellwright equals the war-chief in authority and influence."[1] Given these data, we should look for a literature among Welsh and Irish essentially similar, reflecting the archaic pre-Roman social organisation, laying stress on the element of wizardry and connected to a large extent with tribal and family feuds. And the actual remains of Welsh and Irish literature, preserved abundantly on the Irish side, on the Welsh side somewhat scantily, fulfil these requirements in a marked manner.[2]

The close and continuous intercourse of Wales with Ireland from earliest times down to the 12th century afforded ample opportunity for literary borrowings of one body of literature from the other. These borrowings moreover were facilitated by the already existing similarity of idiom, language-structure, traditions and spirit. That borrowing of incident and literary

Prof. Ifor Williams agrees. He also points out to me that the Welsh word has been misread Manawyddan. The correct reading should be Manawydan. Cp. *WB.* p. 34. *BBC.* 94, 10. In the *BBC.* *d* generally stands for modern *d*, *t* for *dd*. In this connection it is worth noting that in the *Third Branch* Manawyddan plies the trade of a shoemaker, compare W. *manawyd*, "a shoemaker's awl".

[1] Nutt, *Celtic and Mediaeval Romance*, pp. 23—24.

[2] Annwyl in his article on the *Four Branches* (*Z. für C. Ph.*, I) notes the marked similarity of the social and political life described in those tales to that of Ireland.

form did not take place to a greater extent than it actually did is a surprising fact and possibly owes its explanation to the nature of the intercourse between the two peoples. At first hostile, the relations of Welsh and Irish never, save in the period of ecclesiastical intercourse, acquired that settled and peaceful atmosphere necessary for literary and linguistic influence on a large scale. The early period of ecclesiastical intercourse was one of intense religious fervour; Welsh monks who visited or settled in Irish monasteries did so with the object of religious study; Irish monks and anchorites were too eager to advance their ascetic doctrines and the knowledge of things religious to devote time to the study of Welsh profane literature. And in this early period such literature, the embryo material of later sagas, as existed in either country probably had not yet been committed to writing.

EVIDENCE OF INTERCHANGE OF MANUSCRIPTS

Throughout the period of historic intercourse between Irish and Welsh, in particular during the later period of ecclesiastical intercourse and the early Viking period, there must have been interchange of manuscripts between the two countries. The Irish and Welsh monasteries were the repositories of learning. As in Ireland so in Wales the transcription and illumination of manuscripts was the work of monkish scribes. Quite naturally then during a period of ecclesiastical intercourse of which we have proofs down to the 11th century, manuscripts containing both profane and ecclasiastical matter would find their way from one country to the other.

There is an interesting Irish tradition preserved in the *Book of Leinster* (245 a 1—7) relating to the famous Old-Irish saga of the *Táin Bó Cualnge*. Guaire Aidne, King of Connacht (617—622) wished to hear the saga recited. Senchan Torpeist, the arch-poet, assembled all the poets and storytellers of Ireland, but it was discovered that none of them knew the saga in its entirety. Thereupon Senchan asked his pupils which of them would go for the sake of his blessing to Brithany to learn the Táin "which the wise man had taken to the east in exchange for the Cuilmenn." Zimmer maintains that the "wise

man" referred to was Gildas Sapiens.[1] Gildas visited Brittany in 555 and founded there a monastery (Rhuys) in which he later ended his life (570). His visit to Ireland at the invitation of Ainmire mac Setna (563—569) probably took place about 565, the date given in *Annales Cambriae* for *"Navigatio Gildae in Hibernia."* If we recall the close intercourse of S. W. Britain and of Brittany with Ireland in the 6th century, it will be obvious that such an interchange of manuscripts was a very probable occurence. The saints of the period who sent each other bells as tokens of esteem and friendship may also have exchanged manuscripts.

The so-called *Lorica of Gildas,* a version of which occurs in the *Leabhar Breac,* seems another instance of Irish and Welsh connections. The whole question of authorship and date bristles with difficulty for the uninitiated, but Professor Hugh Williams sums up the various arguments and contentions of Zimmer, Thurneysen, Stokes and others in his edition of Gildas's *De Excidio.*[2] The colophon of the Irish manuscript version attributes the composition of the hymn to Gildas,[3] presumably during the years 540—550 of the great plague which ravaged Ireland and Britain, and seems to assert that the hymn was brought over from Britain to Ireland by Laedcenn son of Baeth. Judging by internal evidence Professor Williams thinks that it is "not rash to believe that it is the work of some unknown writer who, late in the 7th century (*i. e.* during the Yellow Plague which carried off Cadwaladr ap Cadwallon, *Ann. Camb.* 682) belonged to that South-Wales-British circle where Gildas's name was pre-eminent."[4] It would naturally be attributed by the Irish to Gildas, the leading representative of the Church of Wales as known to Irishmen. Its British origin seems fairly certain.

During the early period of the Viking raids in Ireland, many monasteries and their libraries were destroyed. As a result

[1] *Nennius Vindicatus,* pp. 255 ff. "Er und kein Anderer scheint mir der Mann zu sein, der '*in sui,*' sapiens ille, ohne Zusatz genannt werden kann, und er hätte demnach 565—566 im Austausch gegen eine Handschrift der *Táin Bó Cualnge* den Cuilmenn in Irland zurückgelassen" (p. 257).

[2] Vol. II, *App. C.,* p. 289 ff.

[3] There are difficulties, however, in the way of its attribution to Gildas.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 303.

of this, we have practically no Irish manuscript preserved in Ireland dating earlier than the 12th century. That, however, there existed earlier pre-Danish redactions of much of the literature of the 12th and following centuries has been conclusively proved. According to an Irish tradition King Brian Boromha, in the beginning of the Irish renaissance period, sought to restore the older literature and sent "beyond the sea" for books. Just as the 8th and 9th century Irish monks carried to the Continent with them Irish manuscripts some of which are still extant, so we may assume that the Irishmen who came to Wales in the Viking period brought with them for safety from the Northmen some of their precious manuscripts.

The South-Welsh compiler of the *Historia Brittonum* (*circ.* 795) had access to Irish works of the pre-Danish period, works which have come down to us only in post-Danish redactions. Zimmer has proved that the author of the *Historia Brittonum* made use, among other sources, of three Irish documents in their pre-Danish form: the Latin texts concerning St. Patrick preserved now only in the *Book of Armagh;* the *Lebor Gabála*, Book of Invasions; and the tract *De sex aetatibus mundi* now preserved in the *Book of Ballymote.*[1]

An Irish version of the *Historia Brittonum* has been preserved in five Irish manuscripts; the five recensions are from one source, and the earliest fragmentary version is preserved in an Irish manuscript of the 12th century. The Irish translation is ascribed to Gilla Coemgin who must have made it at latest about 1071, probably earlier, and his source, as Zimmer has proved, was a North Welsh redaction of the original *Historia*, compiled by a pupil of the presbyter Beulan, probably in Anglesey, in the early 9th century.[2] These data agree very well with what we know of the historic relations of Ireland and Wales during the 11th century.

Sulien the Wise who studied in Ireland about 1059—1072 must on his return to Wales have brought with him many Irish manuscripts, for Irish influence on the work of his school at St. David's is strongly marked, and the use of Irish sources can alone explain the striking parallels between various incidents in Ricemarch's *Life of St. David* and similar incidents

[1] *Nenn. Vind.* pp. 207–274.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 11–14, 50—53.

found in the Irish *Vitae*. The use of an Irish exemplar accounts too for the inclusion in the *Martyrology of Ricemarch* of a considerable number of names of Irish Saints.[1]

In the *Glossary* attributed to Cormac mac Cuilennáin many Welsh words are cited. As the editor of the *Glossary*, Whitley Stokes, noted, these Welsh words are Old-Welsh not Middle-Welsh.[2] Hence we may infer that the Irish lexicographer had access to Welsh manuscripts.

Besides these instances which chance has preserved for us, we may note the many records of Welsh events scattered throughout the Irish annals and chronicles; the deaths of British saints, British battles fought against the Saxons and the English, are recorded in an abundance and with an accuracy which warrant the assumption that the Irish compilers had before them Welsh annals recording these events. Even more striking are the notices of Irish events in the *Annales Cambriae* and the Welsh *Bruts*. The compiler of the *Annales Cambriae* certainly made use of "some lost chronicle or chronicles used by the Irish annalist Tigernach in the 11th century and probably by other Irish annalists, such as some of the lost chroniclers whose works were among the originals used in the compilation of the Annals of Ulster in 1493."[3] Rhys would even go so far as to assert that some of the entries in the *Annales Cambriae* were written in Ireland.[4]

An interesting phenomenon with regard to the copying of a Welsh work by an Irish scribe may be noted here. In the *Juvencus Glosses* some of the Welsh words have obviously been modelled on or influenced by Irish words.[5] Thus *funid* (gl. *astrorum obitus* .i. *occasus*) seems to be the Irish *fuined*;

[1] See *Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch*, ed. H. J. Lawlor, pp. xii—xvii.

[2] W. Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, Preface p. xvi. The foll. 17 Old-Welsh words are quoted by Cormac: *braut, braccaut, cat, catell, cenical, coit, cuiall, dobar, doborci, gour, gruèc da, escand, map, med, meuin, doiu braut, prem, premter*.

[3] Egerton Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, XI, p. 139.

[4] *Welsh People*, p. 126 n.

[5] Thurneysen, *R. C.* XI, pp. 91—92; Meyer, *Early Relations etc.*, p. 82. "Le scribe était irlandais," says Thurneysen, "ne serait-ce pas que le glossateur irlandais ait parlé un gallois 'hibernisant', c'est à dire, qu'il ait ça et là 'britannisé' des mots irlandais, tout comme un Français qui, parlant italien, se servirait de mots français italianisés." For example of MS. containing both Welsh and Irish glosses, cp. Vendryes, *De Hibernicis Vocabulis*, pp. 23—24.

archim dies (gl. *instans*) is the Irish *ar-chiunn, ar-cheun* (W. *erbyn*); *strutin* (gl. *antiquam gentem*) is the Irish *sruthin*; *hencasson* (gl. *veteris scripti monimenta*) seems to be modelled on the Irish *senchassa*; *obsistit* is glossed by *gurthdo* which appears to be a Brythonic translation of the Irish *fris-tá*, "he resists." The gloss *fodeud, fodent, fodiud* occurs three times as a scribal note unconnected with the text. Thurneysen compares with Irish *fo-deud, fo-diud*, "at last, at the end." The gloss *arber bit* (gl. *vescitur*) is imitated from the Irish *airbiur biuth*. There are other less obvious examples of this singular confusion of Welsh and Irish in these glosses. The concluding words of the scribe, *arant di Nuada*, have led Thurneysen and Meyer to believe that he was an Irish monk in a Welsh monastery. Thurneysen translates "priez pour Nuada" but rather it is "prière pour Nuada," "a prayer for Nuada." The name *Nuada* is Irish (W. *Nudd*), and *arant* seems to be the Irish *oráit*.

THE TERM *MABINOGI*.

The name *Mabinogi* has been variously explained. One theory advanced in recent years, would, if accepted, prove a powerful argument for the influence of Irish upon Welsh literature.

The earliest theory, advocated by Stephens in *Literature of the Cymry*, was that the word *Mabinogi* meant a youth (from *mab*, son) and the tales "were written to while away the time of young chieftains."[1] Sir John Rhys, however, interpreted *Mabinogi* as "the collection of things which formed the literary training of the *mabinog*" who was "a young man who had not yet acquired the art of making verse but one who received instruction from a qualified bard."[2] Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans derived *Mabinogi* from "*maban* which is the diminutive of *mab*, a son or youth," and compared its use with the Latin *infantia* in MS. Pen. 14 and the Norman-French *enfances* as applied to Perceval. Thus "any narrative which treats of early life is a *mabinogi*."[3] The latest and most fascinating theory put

[1] So also Rev. J. C. Morrice in his *Manual of Welsh Lit.*, 1909, p. 32: "The term Mabinogion was applied to the stories slightingly at first as lighter literary productions ... They were tales for the young and nothing more."

[2] Preface to *Red Book of Hergest*, I, viii, (1887).

[3] Preface to *White Book of Rhydderch*, xxvi, (1909). This is the theory accepted by Prof. W. J. Gruffydd, *Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—1913, pp. 39—40.

forward is that of Prof. T. Gwynn Jones and Prof. J. Lloyd Jones who suggest that *Mabinogi* is identical with the Irish *mac ind óc* applied to Aengus son of the Dagdae.[1] According to Prof. Gwynn Jones, Pryderi himself is the *mac ind óc*, the son of the ever-young or fairy maiden, Rhiannon, just as Aengus was the son of immortal parents. Prof. Lloyd Jones who elaborated the theory and studied the philological aspect of the question, takes *Mabinogi* to be a formation from *mabinog*, a half-translation of the Irish *mac in(d) óc*. He compares this development of a proper name into a generic term for a certain type of literature with *brut* from the name Brutus and *dwned* from Donatus.

The first theory has obviously no foundation and may be dismissed at once. Rhys's theory is nullified by the fact that the term *mabinog* for a bardic apprentice occurs nowhere save among the spurious terms invented by the Morgannwg bards.[2] Moreover the line of demarcation between bardism and romance was in Wales very clearly defined. "There is no evidence whatever that the Welsh bards recognised the romances at all."[3]

The theory which connects *Mabinogi* with the Irish epithet of Aengus mac an Dagdae presupposes a prominence and popularity of that hero in Irish literature such as we do not actually find. Nor is there the slightest trace, either in the Welsh tales known as *Mabinogi* or elsewhere in Welsh literature, of any borrowing from Irish legends concerning Aengus. The Welsh would not have adopted the epithet of the Irish hero as a distinctive term for the prose tales of *Pwyll*, *Branwen*, *Manawyddan* and *Math*, had they not been acquainted with many tales and traditions about Aengus.[4]

[1] T. Gwynn Jones, *Bardism and Romance*, *Trans. Cymm.*, 1913–1914, pp. 283–285. "In any case the Irish origin of the term is certain," *ib.*, p. 285. J. Lloyd Jones, *Y Beirniad*, 1914, pp. 106–111.

[2] See note by Sir J. Morris Jones to Prof. Lloyd Jones's article, p. 107.

[3] *Bardism and Romance*, p. 283.

[4] On this point Prof. Gwynn Jones sends me the foll. note: "*Ni byddai râid bod llawer o chwedlau Gwyddeleg am Aengus cyn y gellid derbyn y dyb fod perthynas rhwng* Mabinogi *a* Mac ind óc. *Yn fy meddwl i, y peth pwysicaf yn y mater yw yr arferir y term yn yr Wyddeleg yn ddiweddarach, mewn ffurf debyg, am Fab y Forwyn; y ceir yr elfen -oc- yn y Roeg, mewn cysylltiad ag un y tybid ei fod yn fab i forwyn ac un o'r duwiau; a bod chwedl Pwyll hefyd*

The objection urged against the theory of Dr. Evans, viz. that the word *Mabinogi* cannot come from *mabau* which with vowel affection should give *mebynogi* or *mebinogi*, has been recently answered by Prof. Ifor Williams.[1] Prof. Williams quotes many examples of the non-affection of *a* and suggests that *mabinogi* comes from *mebin* with the *a* restored. He gives from the eulogy of Llywarch ap Llywelyn on Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (latter half of 12th century), an example of the word *mamynogi* which, as he shows, the context clearly denotes should be emended to *mabinogi*.[2] The lines in question describe the youthful history of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, his *mabinogi, mac-gnîmartha, infantia, enfances*. Prof. Williams instances the example in Peniarth MS. 14 of *Mabinogi Iesu Grist*, the tale of the youth of Christ, the *mac-gnîmartha* or Boyish Exploits of Fionn and of Cúchulainn in Irish literature. The term thus interpreted can be shown to fit the *Four Branches*. The tale of *Pwyll* recounts the *infantia* of Pryderi; the infancy of Gwern is found in *Branwen*; and in the *Fourth Branch* the youth of Lleu Llawgyffes.[3]

THE FOUR BRANCHES OF THE MABINOGI.

Nowhere is the essential kinship of Welsh and Irish literature more marked than in the Welsh prose tales popularly known as the *Mabinogion*. The *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, in particular, dealing as they do with the adventures of the Children of Don, the Welsh counterpart of the Irish Tuatha

yn cynnwys yr elfennau a geir yn Llên Gwerin y gwledydd ynglŷn a'r plentyn rhyfeddod. Fy meddwl i oedd y gallai fod Mabinogi *yn Gymraeg a* Mae ind óc *yn yr Wyddeleg yn mynd yn ôl at bethau cynarach na dim a gadwyd yn y naill iaith na'r llall.*"

[1] *Y Beirniad*, 1918, pp. 189—190.

[2] "'*Mabinogi draig drud yw ei gynnwyll—Lladd ryfu a rhannu golud', mabinogi Llywelyn a fu lladd a rhannu golud: dyna' i hanes pan oedd yn fachgen.*" The youthful prowess of Llywelyn is historically proved.

[3] Strictly speaking the term *Mabinogi* should be applied only to the *Four Branches*. The MSS. do not apply the term to any of the other tales included by Lady Guest in her translation under the title of *The Mabinogion*. The form *Mabinogion* occurs once in *R. B.* at the end of the *First Branch*. Prof. Williams considers *Mabinogi* to be a singular compound noun and compares the i-termination with that in such nouns as *tlodi, diogi, caledi*.

De Danann, exhibit this kinship in a marked degree.[1] But side by side with the deeper resemblances which are due to an original mythic tradition common to Goidel and Brython and to the similarity of the historic conditions in which both Welsh and Irish literature developed, we find more superficial resemblances between names and incidents which point to later influence of one literature upon the other.

The chief and most characteristic of these superficial resemblances is the incident of the iron house which occurs in the story of *Branwen ferch Llyr*. This incident which is introduced into the Welsh tale only in a subordinate manner and with open acknowledgment of its Irish origin,[2] forms the main feature of two Irish sagas, the *Intoxication of the Men of Ulster* and the *Destruction of Dind Rig*.

[1] According to Rhys, the *Mabinogion* were the mythico-heroic traditions of the prehistoric Goidels of the "first wave of Celtic immigration." These Goidels, according to his theory, inhabited Wales down to the eve of the Danish invasions, and it is their traditions, translated into the speech of their Brythonic conquerors and filtered through a medium of Brythonic culture and historic conditions, that we possess in the *Mabinogion* (cp. *Notes on Hunting of Twrch Trwyth, Trans. Cymm.*, 1894—5). Prof. W. J. Gruffydd, who thinks that Rhys has "a stronger and more reasonable case" than Meyer and Zimmer, considers the *Mabinogion* to be of Irish origin. "A Goidelic mythology . . . was the parent of both the Welsh and Irish tales" (*Mabinogion, Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—13, p. 19). Nutt (*Voyage of Bran*, II, pp. 19—21), thinks that Rhys's theory is fascinating in as much as it accounts for the archaic pre-Christian character of the tales more satisfactorily than does the rival theory of Meyer and Zimmer; but he acknowledges that the historical support for Rhys's theory is scanty and obscure. Ifor B. John, who wisely suspends judgment on the theory of a Goidelic immigration to Ireland via Britain, considers that the *Four Branches* "owe their deeper resemblances to Irish tales to an original community of myth and their more superficial resemblances to late influence from Irish sources" (*The Mabinogion*, p. 19), which is the view necessitated by the acceptance of the theory of a direct immigration of Goidels from the Continent to Ireland.

[2] Noted by W. J. Gruffydd, *Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—13, p. 25. He further remarks: "Prof. Meyer argues that all this shows that the story was perfectly well-known in Wales, but the careful elaboration of the narrative and the knowledge of its origin point rather to a cultured redactor who understood both Welsh and Irish." Meyer's remark is that "the incident of the Irish saga . . . is referred to in a way which shows that the narrator was alluding to a story with which his audience was familiar." The Irish story probably reached Wales orally; the outlines of the incident are faithfully reproduced in the Welsh tale, but the personages are different. Other borrowings (*e. g.* in poem on *Death of Curoi* in *Bk. Tal.*) show evidence of the oral transmission of Irish tales. The Irish names in *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* are obviously handed down orally.

In the Welsh tale Bendigeidvran is represented as offering to Matholwch, King of Ireland, in compensation for an insult, the Cauldron of Rebirth. "'My lord,' saith Matholwch, 'whence hadst thou the cauldron which thou hast given me?' 'I had it of a man who had been in thy land,' said he, 'and I know not but it was there he got it.' 'Who was he?' asked Matholwch. 'Llassar Llaes Gyfnewid,' answered he, 'and he came here from Ireland with Kymideu Kymeinvoll, his wife, and they escaped from the Iron House in Ireland when it was made red-hot around them, and they fled hither. And I marvel that thou shouldst know nothing concerning the matter.' 'Something I do know,' said he, 'and as much as I know I will tell thee.'" Matholwch then relates to Bran how he had befriended Llassar and his wife, but that they and their offspring became obnoxious to the people of Ireland by reason of the outrages which they committed. "'And I applied to the council of my country to know what should be done concerning them; for of their own freewill they would not go, neither could they be compelled to go against their will, by reason of their prowess. And the people of the country being in this strait, they caused a chamber to be made all of iron. Now when the chamber was ready they summoned there every smith that was in Ireland and everyone who owned tongs and hammer. And they caused coals to be piled up as high as the top of the chamber. And they had the man and the woman and their children served plentifully with food and drink; and when it was known that they inside were drunk, they began to set fire to the coals about the chamber, and to blow the bellows that had been placed around the house with a man at each bellows, until the house was white-hot around them. And then they held a council in the centre of the floor of the chamber. And the man tarried until the sheet of iron was white-hot, and then by reason of the great heat the man dashed against the iron sheet with his shoulder and broke through it, and his wife followed him; and except him and his wife none escaped thence. And then, I suppose, lord,' said Matholwch unto Bendigeidvran, 'he came across to thee.' 'Then, indeed,' said Bendigeidvran, 'he came here and he gave unto me the cauldron.' 'In what manner, lord, didst thou receive them?' 'I dispersed them [i. e. the offspring of Llassar and

his wife] throughout every place in the kingdom, and they are numerous and are rising into prominence everywhere and fortifying the places where they are with men and arms of the best that ever were seen.'"[1]

In the Irish tale, *Mesca Ulad*, King Conchobor and his heroes wander in a fit of drunkenness into the country of their enemies, the King and Queen of Connacht. An iron house is placed at their disposal and a banquet set before them. "But as night approached, their attendants would steal away from them one by one, even to the last man, who closed the door after him, and seven chains of iron were fixed upon the house, and fastened to seven stone pillars which were upon the green outside. An enormous fire is kindled, and thrice fifty smiths were brought with their smiths' bellows to blow the fire. Then the hosts shouted loudly so that the men of Ulster within the house were silent, speechless, until one of them said: 'What, O men of Ulster, is the great heat that seizes our feet? Meseems they are burning us from below and from above, and the house is closed fast.'"[2]

In the tale of the *Destruction of Dind Rig*, Labraid, King of Leinster, is represented as seeking to avenge the deaths of his father and his grandfather upon Cobhthach Coel Breg,

[1] The last remark of Bran to Matholweh, as W. J. Gruffydd has pointed out (*Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—13, p. 55 n), is probably a reference to an Irish settlement in Wales. It is perhaps worthy of note that the circumstances of the expulsion of the Déssi and their subsequent fortunes in Dyfed tally in broad outline with those of Llassar. Wales must always have been the asylum of Irish refugees. Cp. also Annwyl (*Four Branches, Z. für C. Ph.*, III, p. 133) who takes this remark regarding Llassar and his descendants as intended to be "an explanation of certain facts with regard to the population of Britain . . . It is not improbable that the narrator had here in view the place-names which contain the word Gwyddel and among them doubtless that of Gwyddelwern."

[2] *Mesca Ulad*, ed. Hennessy, p. 45. cp. Meyer, *Gael and Brython*, p. 72. Loth who was the first to point out the parallelism between the incident in *Branwen* and that in *Mesca Ulad* (*R. C.* XI, pp. 345 ff.) seemed to ascribe the similarity to an original community of myth. "Je ne sais si je me trompe, mais il me semble que la tradition galloise, tout arrangée qu'elle est, est plus près de la source que la tradition irlandaise. Il semble en résulter en tout cas que l'histoire de la maison de fer est fort ancienne et que c'est un des nombreux exemples de l'annexion ou de l'appropriation d'une antique tradition à un cycle plus ou moins historique, ou tout au moins à prétentions historiques, comme celui de Cúchulainn" (*ib.*, p. 347).

King of Erin. "So a house was built by him to receive Cobthach. Passing strong was the house: it was made of iron, both wall and floor and doors. A full year were the Leinstermen abuilding it, and father would hide it from son and mother from daughter, husband from wife and wife from husband, so that no one heard from another what they were going about, and for whom they were gathering their gear and their fittings . . . Then Cobthach was invited to the ale and the feast, and with him went thirty kings of the kings of Erin [and 700 followers] . . . They dragged the chain that was out of the door behind them and cast it on the pillar-stone in front of the house; and the thrice fifty forge bellows that they had around it, with four warriors at each bellows, were blown till the house became hot for the host."[1] The mother and the jester of Labraid perish with his enemies in flames.

Still another version of the burning house incident occurs in Irish literature. Cummascach, son of Aed macAinmire, King of Ireland, goes on "free circuit." Brandub, King of Leinster, resents this. Cummascach and three hundred kings' sons are put into Bran's house and "four fires are put into the house, a fire on each side." Glasdan, Cummascach's satirist, who has partaken of Brandub's food, demands to be saved. Brandub commands him to "climb up the house and leap over the roof-tree and spring out over the top of the house." Glasdan makes his master, Cummascach, don his garments and thus escape.[1] This version is of interest as describing the escape of one man from the burning house.

[1] *Destruction of Dind Rig*, ed. W. Stokes, *Z. für C. Ph.*, III, pp. 1—14; "There seems no reason for doubting the actual occurrence of the final incident [of the iron house] which is chronicled by *Tig. R. C.* XVI, 378." Cp. also entry in *Ann. Tig.* s. a. 1046 referring to the burning of Muiredach son of Flaithbeartach Hua Neill in a house set on fire by Cu Uladh son of Congolach. If this house was made of iron, the incident of roasting people alive in an iron house would have been of recent occurrence at the period when the Welsh tale assumed its present form. The *Destruction of Dind Rig* was reckoned as one of the "king-stories" of Ireland; in the *Battle of Allen* we learn that Donnbo "who was the best teller of king-stories in the world, knew a tale of each king of Tara from the tale of the *Destruction of Dind Rig* down to the kings who reigned in his own time." It is thus easy to understand how the Irish tale could have reached Wales through Irish story-tellers in the 10—12 centuries.

[2] *The Boroma*, ed. W. Stokes, *R. C.* XIII, pp. 32—124.

The *Pair Dadeni* in *Branwen* has not been identified in Irish literature. But in both Welsh and Irish legend magic cauldrons play a prominent part.[1] The cauldron of abundance and the vessel of revivifying balsam are commonplaces in Irish literature. The Tuatha De Danann were fabled to have brought with them to Ireland four talismans, one of which was the cauldron of the Dagdae. "No company ever went from the Dagdae's cauldron unthankful."[2] The incident of resuscitating warriors who have been slain in battle is also common in Irish tales, even in the modern literature, oral and written.[3] In the *Battle of Moytura* we learn that the Tuatha De Danann restored their slain to life by dipping them into a well.[4] "This then is what used to put fire into the warriors who were slain there, so that they were swifter on the morrow. Because Diancecht and his two sons, even Octriuil and Miach, and his daughter Airmed, were singing spells over the well named *Sláine* (Health). Now their mortally wounded men were cast into it as they were slain. They were alive when they came out. Their mortally wounded became whole through the might of the incantation of the four leeches who were about the well."[5]

When Bran and his mighty host set out from Wales to Ireland to avenge the insult offered to Branwen, some swine-

[1] One of the quests of Kulhwch in the story of *Kulhwch ac Olwen* is the cauldron of Diwrnach Wyddel, the steward of Odgar son of Aedd, King of Ireland (*W. B.* 249). Arthur and his men, being unable to get the cauldron from its owner peacefully, fought the Irish for it and returned to Wales bearing with them the cauldron full of Irish treasure.

[2] *Battle of Moytura*, ed. W. Stokes, *R. C.* XII, p. 59.

[3] Cp. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 165 ff.

[4] It is interesting to note Keating's remark about the T. D. D. They were experts in magic art, and are said to have assisted the Athenians against the Syrians during their sojourn in Greece "and they used to send demons into the bodies of the slain Athenians quickening them by means of their heathen lore."

[5] Is it possible that we have here a later version connecting the revivifying process with a well for an older account in which the Dagdae's cauldron was the means of restoring the slain to life? The passage has all the appearance of being a semi-rationalising gloss. The scribe might have got the idea of inserting it from the presence of Diancecht, the famous physician of the T. D. D. or added it as a topographical tale to explain the name of an actually existing well, *Sláine*, "Health." The only exisiting copy of the Irish text occurs in a 15th cent. MS. (Harl. 5280) but, as the editor notes, the language is in parts "of considerable antiquity."

herds of Matholwch's who were upon the seashore, were the first to perceive the invasion. They went in haste to Matholwch. "'Lord,' said they, 'we have marvellous news, a wood have we seen upon the sea in a place where we never yet saw a single tree.' 'This is indeed a marvel,' quoth he, 'saw ye aught else?' 'We saw, lord,' said they, 'beside the wood a vast mountain which moved, and a lofty ridge on the mountain and a lake on each side of the ridge. And all these things were moving.' 'Verily,' said he, 'there is none who can know aught concerning this unless it be Branwen. Question her.' Messengers went unto Branwen. 'Lady,' said they, 'what thinkest thou that this is?' 'Though I am no longer lady,' said she, 'I know what this is. The men of the Island of the Mighty coming across on hearing of my woe and my harsh treatment.' 'What is the forest that is seen upon the sea?' asked they. 'The yards and masts of ships,' said she. 'Alas!' said they, 'what is the mountain that is seen beside the ships?' 'Bendigeidvran my brother,' answered she, 'coming to shoal water. There is no ship that could contain him.' 'What is the lofty ridge with the lake on each side thereof?' 'That is he, looking towards this island and he is wrath. The two lakes on each side of the ridge are his two eyes on each side of his nose.'"

A strikingly similar description of Mac Ceacht, the champion of Conaire Mor, occurs in the Irish tale of the *Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*. It will be noted, too, that the circumstances in which the description occurs are very similar to those in the Welsh tale. The pirates send Ingcel the Briton as scout to the hostel to reconnoitre, and when he returns with the description of the warriors there, Fer Rogain identifies them, just as Branwen in the Welsh tale interprets the marvel of the swineherds and identifies her brother.[1] "'A wooden

[1] *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, *R. C.* XXII, pp. 187—9. This parallel was pointed out by Loth, *R. C.* XI, pp. 345 ff. (1890). It is possible of course that this was the stereotyped description of a mighty warrior. But it is in Irish literature that we most frequently find such stereotypes. I have quoted the passage from the Irish tale in full to show its greater detail and elaboration. The comparative simplicity of the parallel passage in the Welsh tale suggests that it was a reminiscence of a description in an Irish tale among the many such which the writer of *Branwen* seems to have heard. Cp. *TBC.* ed. Windisch, 5023 ff. where Mac Roth, the scout, brings back to the camp of the Men of Erin tidings of wonderful natural phenomena which he has seen, interpreted by Fergus, the

shield, dark, covered with iron, he bears . . . At his two smooth sides are two five-thwarted boats fit for three parties of ten in each of his two strong fleets . . . Two bald men were there by the man with hair. Two loughs by a mountain . . . two hides by a tree. Two boats near them full of thorns of a white thorntree on a circular board. And there seems to me somewhat like a slender stream of water on which the sun is shining and its trickle down from it, and a hide arranged behind it, and a palace housepost shaped like a great lance above it. A good weight of a plough-yoke in the shaft that is therein. Liken thou that, O Fer-rogain!' 'Easy meseems to liken him. That is Mac Cecht, son of Snaide Teichid; the battle-soldier of Conaire Mor son of Eterscel. Good is the hero, Mac Cecht! Supine he was in his room, in his sleep, when thou beheldest him. The two bald men which thou sawest by the man with hair, these are his two knees by his head. The two loughs by the mountain which thou sawest, these are his two eyes by his nose. The two hides by a tree which thou sawest, these are his two ears by his head. The two five-thwarted boats on a circular board which thou sawest, these are his two sandals on his shield. The slender stream of water which thou sawest whereon the sun shines and its trickle down from it, this is the flickering of his sword. The hide which thou sawest arranged behind him, that is his sword's scabbard. The palace housepost which thou sawest, that is his lance.'"

The following passage occurs at the and of the *Branwen* tale, describing the condition of Ireland after the slaughter wrought by Bran and his hosts there. "In Ireland none were left alive except five pregnant women in a cave in the Irish wilderness; and to these five women at the same time were

Ulsterman, as the advance of the Men of Ulster: "These were the islands over lakes that he saw there, and the tops of hills and heights over the sloping valleys of mist, even the heads of the champions and battleheroes over the chariots . . . These were the wide-yawning caverns that he saw there leading into that mist, even the mouths and the nostrils of the horses and champions, exhaling and inhaling the sun and the wind with the speed of the host. These were the all-white flax-like cloths that he saw there or the streaming snow afalling, to wit the foam and the froth that the bridles of the reins flung from the bits of strong stout steeds with the stress, with the swiftness and strength and speed of the host etc. etc."

born five sons. And they reared these five sons until they were grown-up youths. And they thought about wives and desired to have them, so each took a wife of the mothers of his companions, and they governed the country and peopled it, and divided it between the five of them. And because of this partition are the five divisions of Ireland still so-called." Interesting as this is, inasmuch as it shows that the writer or reciter of the tale was aware of the division of Ireland into five fifths or provinces *(cúige)*, it is all the more so as it denotes his acquaintance with the legendary history of Ireland.

According to Irish tradition the Aithech Tuatha or unfree tribes rose under the leadership of Cairbre Cathead. They slaughtered the Milesian nobles at a feast in the Hostel of Mac Dareo, and Cairbre Cindchait assumed the sovreignty of Ireland. Three princes of the ancient line as yet unborn escaped, their mothers fleeing to Alba. Subsequently these princes were restored to their rights.[1] The Irish tradition is of a usurpation, not an utter extermination; but it undoubtedly supplied a basis for the Welsh story. The substitution of five princes in the Welsh tale for the three of Irish tradition may be ascribed to the writer's fondness for topographical explanations.

The foregoing parallels, which all occur in the tale of *Branwen ferch Llyr*, clearly prove direct borrowing or adaptation from the Irish. The three remaining tales which together with *Branwen* constitute the *Four Branches*, show less definite indications of influence from Irish sources.[2] Significantly enough *Branwen* is the only Welsh tale which shows Teutonic influence. As Nutt has pointed out, the tale of *Branwen* presents remarkable affinities with Northern Teutonic tales of the Nibelung and Gudrun cycles.[3] This feature of the Welsh tale is a valuable piece of evidence in determining the period in which the Irish borrowings were made.

It is agreed that the *Four Branches* assumed their present form in the 10th—11th centuries.[4] Nutt sees in their redaction

[1] MacNeill, *Revolt of the Vassals*, *New Ireland Review*, XXVI, 1906; W. A. Craigie, *Cairbre Cindchait and the Athech Tuatha*, *R. C.* XX, 1899, pp. 335—9.

[2] Thus the Child-stealing Hand motif in *Pwyll* came to Wales from Ireland (G. L. Kittredge, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, p. 245).

[3] *Folklore Record*, IV.

[4] Cp. Nutt's *Notes to edn. of Lady Guest's translation*, pp. 330—336.

"a product and sign of the national movement under Gruffydd ap Cynan (1075—1137) in North Wales, and Rhys ab Tewdwr (c. 1070—1093) in South Wales."[1] Gruffydd ap Cynan's close relations with Ireland and the help rendered him by Irish and Norse-Irish mercenaries have already been described. A strong Welsh tradition existed among Welsh bards of Gruffydd's patronage of music and poetry, as is evidenced by the ascription to him of the 15th—16th century rules for the regulation of the bards.[2] "Brought up in Ireland, Gruffydd could not have failed to be acquainted with Irish literature and music, and it would have been natural for him to surround himself with Irish bards and minstrels, at least in the earlier stages of his career in Gwynedd."[3] It is still more probable that he extended his patronage to Irish poets and storytellers in the closing peaceful years of his reign, when according to the *Hanes* he "harmoniously enjoyed friendship with the kings nearest to him, to wit Henry King of England and Murchad [*recte* Muirchertach] King of Ireland."[4]

The period of Gruffydd ap Cynan was a renaissance period in Irish literature. Irish letters had sustained a mortal blow from the Viking invasions and early settlements. The monasteries wherein were deposited the ancient MSS., precious vestments and altar vessels of the Irish were the special object of the heathens' attacks; the treasures they carried off and the vellums perished amid the ruins of the buildings. By the 10th century matters had begun to consolidate in Ireland, and that century and the following saw a recrudescence of Irish literature, a feverish activity in collecting and committing to writing all the ancient sagas, histories, poems and traditions of the Irish people. Amidst the intellectual

[1] *Ib.*, p. 335.

[2] Notes to A. Jones's edn. of *Hanes Gr. ap. C.* p. 180; T. Gwynn Jones, *Bardism and Romance*, pp. 229—237. "I conclude that the tradition is well founded that Gruffydd ap Cynan introduced Irish minstrels and bards and that he is likely to have made some regulations for the government of the bards and musicians [of Wales]," (*ib.*, p. 237).

[3] *Bardism and Romance*, p. 231.

[4] *Hanes*, p. 152; Nutt, *Notes to Guest's transl.*, p. 343: "When after a most chequered career, Gruffydd was able to settle down to a comparatively peaceful old age, and to give effect to his love of art and letters, it is almost certain that he would welcome representatives of the great Irish school of imaginative prose."

activity of this renaissance Gruffydd was born and reared.[1] The Irish warriors whom he carried across to Wales were men who delighted in the telling of old tales and traditions. Welsh and Irish must have fraternised beside the camp fires and whiled away the watches with interchange of song and story. Irish bards at the feasts of old King Gruffydd must have made many an Irish tale familiar to Welsh audiences. It is not necessary to assume that the "Irish" of Gruffydd were men of pure Irish blood; Norse-Irish at this period were well acquainted with Irish literature.

Such a hypothesis, whilst it accounts for the phenomenon of a Welsh tale exhibiting marked influences of both Irish and Northern literatures, is further strengthened by the character of the borrowed incidents. The Irish and Norse-Irish mercenaries of Gruffydd were not the men to delight in the story of Cúchulainn defending the marches of Ulster against the men of Erin.[2] But that the incident of the heated iron house in the Irish tales of *Mesca Ulad* and the *Destruction of Dind Rig*, with its flavour of barbarous warfare, or the story of the extermination of the men of Ireland and the escape of unborn princes who afterwards repeopled the land, should have found a ready ear and a retentive memory among one of these Gall-

[1] Cp. Dr. G. Evans, Pref. to *Facsimile Bk. Tal.* v. "Griffydd (*sic*) ap Kynan, born of an Irish mother, could not grow up amid the culture and tradition of an Irish court without acquiring and spreading them."

[2] We may note here that I. B. John in his pamphlet on the *Mabinogion*, adduces as "an argument against the late borrowing of Irish legend by Welsh bards which has hitherto been entirely overlooked" the fact that the 10th—11th cent. borrowers did not choose those legends which were most popular with the Irish storyteller and MS. writer. Had the Welsh borrowed from Irish literature in those centuries he assures us, "we should find numerous adaptations of the great Ulster heroic cycle, whereas, save for a passing notice of Conchobar in *Kulhwch* and one poem known as 'Marwnad Conroi mab Dairi' having for its theme the enmity between Cuchulainn and Curoi, Welsh literature ignores the Ulster cycle entirely" (p. 16). Two circumstances in the influences of Irish upon Welsh must be borne in mind: (*a*) the Irishmen with whom Welsh bards and storytellers were likely to come in contact in this period belonged for the most part to the race of Norse-Irish, entirely representative neither of the Norse saga-lovers nor of the Irish *file* and *seanchaidhe*; and (*b*) what Irish literature and tradition filtered through to Wales in this period came as it were by chance; there was no conscious literary borrowing; Welshmen were not sufficiently acquainted with the whole body of Irish storytelling to pick and choose therefrom.

Gaedhil who hired themselves into the service of the Welsh prince, need cause no surprise.

It is, then, to the period from the 10th to the middle of the 12th century, when we have historical evidence for the presence in Wales of numerous Irish and Norse-Irish mercenaries, that we are probably to assign the borrowing in the *Second Branch of the Mabinogi,* and the Irish features in the Welsh tales, *Kulhwch ac Olwen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy.*

KULHWCH AND RHONABWY

According to Nutt, the storytellers to whom we owe these two tales, *Kulhwch ac Olwen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, were "men fascinated by the spirit and style of Irish romance and introducing the same into Welsh literature."[1] There is little trace of what we can definitely pronounce to be borrowing in these tales, no incident like that of the Iron House in *Branwen.* But a community of style and literary method between these two Welsh tales and Irish stories cannot fail to strike the reader. There is the same fondness for lengthy enumerations and triadic groupings, the same delight in bravura descriptive passages, in minutely detailed and vividly coloured descriptions of form and appearance. These similarities are more easily apprehended than illustrated, but in addition there are references in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* to well-known Irish heroes of the Ultonian cycle, which prove that the Welsh storyteller was acquainted with some of the Irish tales which centred round these heroes. Thus in the long list of the warriors and skilful companions of Arthur which occurs in *Kulhwch* are mentioned the famous King Conchobar mac Nessa of Ulster, Fergus mac Róig and Laogaire Buadhach, and Conall Cearnach the fosterfather of Cúchulainn.[2]

[1] *Notes to Guest's transl.*, p. 344.

[2] *W. B.*, 230. On these names in *Kulhwch* Meyer remarks (*Gael and Brython*, p. 74): "From the forms in which the Irish names appear two things are quite plain: first, that they have been handed on by oral tradition, and secondly, that this took place at a comparatively late time, certainly not before the 9th century, and in some instances much later, as such forms as *Cnychwr=Conchobur, Oervel=Uarbhél, Garselit=Gear-selut*, conclusively prove." But for such forms as *fercos m. poch, coruil beruach, (Fergus mac Róich, Conale Cernach)* we must assume a misreading of his original by the *W. B.* scribe. A reading of *p* for *r*,

The achievement of effect by the introduction of a resounding list of warriors and champions is very common in Irish tales. Closely parallel to the enumeration of Arthur's household by Kulhwch is such as we find in the *Táin Bó Cualnge*, where Conchobar enjoins his runner, Findchad Ferbenduma (of the Copper Horn) to muster the men of Ulster to the relief of Cúchulainn.[1]

The explanatory and descriptive passages which accompany some of the names in the Welsh list remind one forcibly of the Irish work entitled *Cóir Anmann*, "Fitness of Names," a species of biographical encyclopaedia of 11th century compilation. This tendency to explain epithets and allusions is common throughout Irish literature.[2] Thus in the Welsh list we get the following: "And Henwas Edeinawc mab Erim, and Henbedestyr mab Erim, and Scilti Yscawntroet mab Erim[3] — unto these three men belonged three virtues: with Henbedestyr there was no one who could keep pace either on horseback or on foot; with Henwas Edeinawc no fourfooted beast could run the distance of an acre much less go beyond that; as to Scilti Yscawntroet when he desired to go upon a message for his lord, he never sought to find a path but knew whither he was to go. Where there was a wood he walked on the tops of the trees, and where there was upland he walked on the tops of the reeds, and during his whole life a reed did not bend beneath his foot, much less break, so light he was. Teithi Hen mab Gwynhan whose kingdom was overrun by the sea, and he himself hardly escaped, and he came to Arthur; and his knife possessed this peculiarity, from the time that he came there

seems to point to a MS. source. The initial *b* of the second element in *coruil beruach* is a misreading of *lc*, hence the single *l* in the first Welsh name.

[1] *TBC.* ed Windisch, ll. 4760 ff. Dunn's *Transl.*, pp. 302 ff.

[2] Cp. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II. 187. "At times we catch in the *Dindsenchus* legends far-off echoes of a giant world so remote as to leave on the mind the same thrill of uncanny wonder as is provoked by the mythical lists in *Kilhwch ac Olwen*."

[3] Acc. to Meyer (*Gael and Brython*, p. 73) Erim "seems to derive his name from the Irish word *érimm*, 'course, career'." The names of the sons mean respectively Winged Old-Servant, Old-Pedestrian, Scilti Lightfoot. The name Scilti seems un-Welsh. I should like to connect it with the Irish Caoilte, the famous runner of the Fianna. The initial *s* might arise from hearing the Irish name in an enumeration with the word *agus* or *is* preceding it.

no haft would remain upon it, and because of this a wasting sickness came upon him for the remainder of his life and he died thereof.... And Osla Gyllellfawr who carried a short broad dagger. When Arthur and his hosts came to a torrent, they would seek for a narrow place across the water, and the dagger in its sheath would be put across the torrent and it would form a bridge sufficient for the hosts of the three islands of Britain and the three adjacent islands with their spoils."[1] With these descriptive details compare the following Irish account, taken from the description of the Array of the Host of Ulstermen in the *Táin Bó Cualnge:* "The poets of Ulster are they, with Fercerdne the Fair, the learned master of Ulster. 'Tis before him that the lakes and the rivers sink when he upbraids, and they swell up high when he applauds. The two others that thou sawest are Aithirne, chief poet whom none can deny, and Aillill Miltenga a son of Carba; and he is called Miltenga (Honeytongue) for that as sweet as honey are the words of wisdom which fall from him... There came yet another company... a most terrible, dreadful sight to behold them... One of these cunning men, Cathba the Druid, raises his glance to heaven and scans the clouds of the sky and bears their answer to the marvellous troop that is with him. They all lift their eyes on high and watch the clouds and work their spells against the elements, so that the elements fall to warring with each other till they discharge rainclouds of fire downwards on the camp and entrenchments of the men of Erin... Fingin the prophet-leech... They all came to show him their stabs and their sores, their wounds and their ills, and he told each one his sickness and he gave each a cure, and what at last happened to each was the ill he foretold him... It is he that knoweth the sickness of a man by the smoke of the house wherein he lies, or by hearing his groans."[2]

Noteworthy are the series of triplets which occur in the list in *Kulhwch.* "Sol and Gwadyn Ossol and Gwadyn Odeith; Sol could stand for a day upon one foot; Gwadyn Ossol, if he stood all day upon the top of the highest mountain in the world, would level it beneath his feet; Gwadyn Odeith, the soles of his feet emitted sparks when they struck upon things

[1] *W. B.*, 232—233.

[2] *TBC.* ed. Windisch, ll. 5466 ff. Dunn's *Transl.*, pp. 333—334.

hard like the heated mass drawn from the anvil... Bwlch and Kyfwlch and Sefwlch the sons of Cleddyf Kyfwlch the grandsons of Cleddyf Difwlch [*bwlch*, a notch in a spear etc.]; their three shields were three gleaming glitterers, their three spears were three pointed piercers, their three swords were three griding gashers, Glas, Glessic and Gleisiad [*glas*, blue, applied to steel, etc.]. Their three dogs, Call, Cuall and Cavall (Cavall seems from L. *caballus*); their three horses, Hwyrdyddwc, Drwgdyddwc and Llwyrdyddwc [transl. Guest, "Late-bringer, Evil-bringer, and Thorough-bringer"]; their three wives, Och, Garym and Diaspat [Alas, Cry and Shriek]; their three grandchildren, Lluched, Neved and Eissiwed; their three daughters, Drwg, Gwaeth and Gwaethaf Oll [Bad, Worse and Worst]."[1]

This triadic grouping of names which are obviously epithetical is very marked in the Irish tale of the *Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*. Thus the six cupbearers of the King of Tara are called Uan, Broen and Banna (*i. e.* Froth, Rain and Drop), Delt, Drúcht (*i. e.* Dew) and Dathen; the three swineherds are Dub, Donn and Dorcha (*i. e.* Black, Brown and Dark); the three chief charioteers are Cúl, Frecul and Forcul (*cúl* is the back part of a chariot, the other two names are compounds of this word) the sons of Sidbi and Cuinge (*i. e.* Pole and Yoke); the three conjurers of the King bear the names of Cless, Clissine and Clessamun sons of Naffer Nochless (*cless* is "feat or trick," from it the other names are formed); the three lampooners are Dris, Draigen and Aittit (*i. e.* Thorn, Bramble and Furze) sons of Sciachfolt (*i. e.* Thorn-hair) and so on.[2]

There are one or two incidents in *Kulhwch* which are worthy of note as having fairly exact analogues in Irish literature. When Kulhwch goes to the court of Yspadadden Penkawr, the giant cries out: "Where are my pages and my servants? Raise up the forks beneath my two eyebrows which have fallen over my eyes, that I may see my future son-in-law."[3] The third time that Kulhwch casts back the poisoned dart (*llechwaew*) at Yspadadden, he wounds the giant "through the eyeball so that the dart came out at the back of his head."

[1] *W. B.*, 234.

[2] *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, ed. W. Stokes, Paris 1902, pp. 107—133.

[3] *W. B.*, 239.

No explanation of Yspadadden's eye is given in the Welsh text, but turning to Irish sources we find a detailed account of the eye of Balor Birugderc (of the Piercing Eye). "An evil eye had Balor. That eye was never opened save only on a battlefield. Four men used to lift up the lid of the eye with a polished handle which passed through the lid. If an army looked at that eye, though they were many thousands in number, they could not resist a few warriors. Hence had it that poisonous power. His father's druids were concocting charms. He came and looked over the window and the fume of the concoction came under it, so that the poison of the concoction came afterwards on the eye that looked. Then he and Lugh meet... 'Lift up mine eyelid, my lad,' says Balor, 'that I may see the babbler who is conversing with me.' The lid is raised from Balor's eye. Then Lugh cast a slingstone (*liictalma*) at him which carried the eye of Balor out through his head."[1]

It does not seem safe to argue here with Loth that Balor and Yspadadden are the Irish and Welsh developments of a Celtic divinity. The resemblance is close even to the point of verbal similarity. The Irish tale preserves the incident of the eyelid-lifting and gives the reasons for it in a clear and lucid manner, whereas in the Welsh tale all would be obscure and unintelligible were it not for the light from Irish sources. Windisch discusses this parallel and concludes that the Welsh borrowed from the Irish tale.[2]

In the Welsh story we read how Gwynn fab Nudd slew Nwython and took out his heart and forced Kyledyr fab Nwython to eat the heart of his father. And from this Kyledyr became mad and was known as Kyledyr Wyllt.[3] We may compare with this the Irish story of Cobhthach Coel Breg who slew the father and grandfather of Labraid Moen and forced Labraid to eat a portion of the heart of each and to drink a goblet of their blood.[4]

[1] *Battle of Moytura*, ed. W. Stokes, *R. C.* XII, pp. 100—101. Loth (*R. C.* X, pp. 354—357) pointed out this parallelism. His concluding words are worth quoting: "Dans certains cas, on est en présence d'emprunts aux légendes irlandaises, dans d'autres comme pour Yspaddaden, on retrouve des débris du patrimonie commun des Gaëls et des Bretons."

[2] *Das Keltische Brittanien*, pp. 158—159.

[3] *W. B.*, 248.

[4] *Amra Choluimb Chilli*, ed. W. Stokes, *R. C.* XX, pp. 249 ff.

When Kai goes to the palace of Gwrnach the Giant, the porter refuses him admittance unless he has a craft: "except for a craftsman who brings his craft the gate will not be opened."[1] In the Irish tale of the *Battle of Moytura*, Lugh appears with his host before the gates of Tara. "What art dost thou practise?" asks the doorkeeper, "for no one without an art enters Tara."[2]

The panoply and accoutrement of the warriors in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* are described so minutely and with such vividness that the scribe felt impelled to add a note: "And this is the reason why no one, neither bard nor storyteller, knows the Dream without a book: because of the many hues that were upon the horses and the various wondrous colours of the arms and accoutrements and the precious mantles and virtue-bearing stones."[3] But the composer of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* did not carry any description to the lengths to which the Irish storytellers went. Thus the story of the *Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel* is occupied for the most part with a wearisomely minute description of the household of Conaire Mór, their trappings and dress, their arms and accoutrements and their various attributes and virtues.[4] In the *Táin* the section which describes the Array of the Men of Ulster affords a similar example.[5]

In *Rhonabwy*, a gigantic stature is attributed to Arthur and his knights. Rhonabwy and his two companions meet Iddawc Cordd Prydain who conducts them to Arthur. "Where didst thou find these little men?" says Arthur. "I found them lord, yonder on the road." Then the Emperor smiled. "Lord," said Iddawc, "wherefore dost thou laugh?" "Iddawc," quoth Arthur, "I laugh not, but I deem it pity that men of such stature should guard the islands after the excellent men that guarded them of yore."[6] So the Irish storytellers laid stress upon the difference in size between Patrick and his clerics and the old-

[1] *W. B.*, 243: "Namyn y gerdawr a dyccwy y gerd nyt agorir."

[2] *R. C.* XII, p. 76: "Ar ni teid nech cin dan i Temraig."

[3] *W. B.*, 122.

[4] *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, ed. W. Stokes, pp. 62—134.

[5] *TBC.* ed. Windisch. II. 5023 ff. To exhibit fully the similarity between the W. and Ir. descriptive passages would require lengthy quotations. Cp. note on the traditional and stereotyped nature of such descriptions in Irish by Windisch, *TBC.*, p. 732 and also p. 610; *Das Keltische Brittanien*, p. 153.

[6] *W. B.*, 104.

time heroes of the Fianna. The saint and his company wonder greatly when they see the huge Fianna warriors approach, "for the largest men among Patrick's company reached but the waist or the shoulder of them, and they sitting." Oisín and Caoilte, too, lament the latterday degeneracy of the Irish and contrast it sorrowfully with the prowess and valour of Fionn and his chosen bands.[1]

Rhys has given a fascinating explanation of the Boar Hunt stories in *Kulhwch*.[2] The story of the Twrch Trwyth is, he says, the fragmentary remains of "a long rambling topographical tale elaborated by the Goidels of this country [Wales], the near kindred of the Goidels who framed the topographic stories forming the Dinseanchus, with which the old literature of Ireland abounds." He supposes the story "to have been current among the natives of a certain part of South Wales, say the Loughor Valley, at a time when their language was still Goidelic, and that, as they gradually gave up Goidelic and adopted Brythonic, they retained their stories and translated them, while they did not always translate their place-names." The arguments on which Rhys bases this theory are two in number, and, except to upholders of the prehistoric Goidelic conquest of Britain, far from conclusive. The first is the occurrence in *Cormac's Glossary* of the phrase *orc tréith* which is explained "*nomen* for a king's son, *triath enim rex vocatur unde dixit poeta, 'Óinach n-uirc tréith,'* fair of a king's son, *i. e.* food and precious raiment, down and quilts, ale and flesh meat, chessmen and chessboards, horses and chariots, greyhounds and playthings besides." The second argument of Rhys is roughly as follows: the tale is obviously a topographical one; the scribe, however, has not realised this, therefore the tale was originally in Goidelic, a language strange to him, or it lost its clearness of outline and its significance in the process of passing from Goidelic into Brythonic.

To deal with the second argument first, to all who do not with Rhys assume a prehistoric Goidelic population in Britain and attribute to these prehistoric Goidels whatever of Goidelic

[1] *Accallam na Senorach, Silva Gadelica,* II.

[2] *Notes on Hunting of Twrch Trwyth, Trans. Cymm.,* 1894—1895, pp. 1—34; cp. also *Celtic Folklore,* pp. 509—537, 553; cp. Windisch, *Das Keltische Brittanien,* p. 146.

influence is to be found in Welsh literature,[1] it is obvious that there are many ways of explaining the scribe's failure to grasp the topographical nature of the tale. He may have been imperfectly acquainted with the district in which the Hunt took place, his original may have been defective, or he may have been recording a skeleton tale the bare bones of which were intended to be covered by the more ample account of a professional reciter or storyteller.

It is more difficult to determine the precise connection between the Irish *orc tréith* and the Welsh *Twrch Trwyth*. There are three possibilities open to us. First, we might assume that Cormac was acquainted with the Welsh story and took the name over from Welsh. Many arguments suggest themselves against this. The Irish form *orc* would be difficult to explain, *torc* being the equivalent of the Welsh *twrch*. We should expect *troith* rather than *tréith*, Welsh *wy* becoming as a rule *oi* (*aoi*) in Irish loanwords, Cormac, moreover, makes no reference to the Welsh story, though throughout the *Glossary* he gives Welsh words and never shows himself unwilling to digress in explanation.

Secondly, we might take it that the Welsh borrowed the Irish phrase *orc tréith* "son of a king" as the name for the boar "son of Prince Tared" (*mab tared wledic*, *W. B.* 242) whom God had transformed into a swine for his sins (*W. B.* 250). The meaning of "a king's son" thus fitted very well with the Welsh story. The word *orc* suggested the word *orc : torc* with the meaning of "a boar," which may have further helped to connect the Irish phrase with the Welsh tale.

There remains the third possibility that, appearances notwithstanding, there was no direct borrowing of Irish from Welsh or of Welsh from Irish, and this is the view I am inclined to take. There is an Irish word *triath* gen. *tréith* meaning "prince." The Welsh equivalent of *triath* would be *trwyd*. Now the form *Twrch Trwyd* actually occurs in the *Book of Aneirin* and elsewhere; and the *porcum Troit* of Nennius (c. 73, ed. Mommsen), which is the earliest record of the name, also points

[1] "The *Mabinogion (Four Branches)* are of Goidelic origin, but they do not come from the Goidels of Ireland; they come rather, as I think, from this country's Goidels who never migrated to the Sister Island, but remained here, and eventually adopted Brythonic speech," (Rhys in *Trans. Cymm.*, 1894–1895, p. 21).

to a Welsh *trwyd*. Assuming that the Welsh *trwyd* meant "prince," the name can be explained as "the Boar Prince, the prince transformed into a boar for his sins." There is no evidence to show that the Irish *orc* in the phrase which Cormac quoted had the meaning of "boar." Thus the likeness between the Irish *orc tréith* and the Welsh *Twrch Trwyth* would be purely accidental. There still remains the difficulty of accounting for the *th* of *trwyth* in *Kulhwch*. I can only suggest that *trwyd* which does not appear to occur in Welsh with the meaning of the Irish *triath*, had no meaning for the scribe who substituted for it another Welsh word, *trwyth*.[1]

Topographical tales seem to have been common in Welsh literature, though not to such an extent as in Irish. Thus, in the *Mabinogi* of *Math mab Mathonwy*, the route taken by Gwydion mab Don with the swine of Pryderi is marked by places bearing such names as Mochdref, Mochnant, etc.[2] With such Welsh stories we may compare the Battle of the Bulls which occurs at the end of the *Táin Bó Cualnge*.[3] The Brown Bull of Cualnge and the Whitehorned of Ai fought all day with fury, says the story, and that night they coursed over the greater part of all Erin. "For every spot in Erin, wherein is a 'Bull's Ditch' or a 'Bull's Gap' or a 'Bull's Fen' or a 'Bull's Loch' or a 'Bull's Rath' or a 'Bull's Back,' it is from them those places are named."

NATURE POETRY.

"Early Celtic Nature poetry" writes Mr. Glyn Davies, "is a remarkable phenomenon in European literature."[4] "At a time when, as evidenced by the art and literature of Europe, out-

[1] Professor Gwynn Jones suggests that the form *trwyth* in the tales, substituted for the older *trwyd* of the bards, was due to Irish influence, and to the Irish word *triath*. The form *twrch trwyd* occurs *M. A.* 298 a 24; *dwrch drwydd*, *Ceinion Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, p. 141.

[2] So also the explanation of the name Tal y bolion in the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll*. Cp. Prof. W. J. Gruffydd, *Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—1913, p. 59.

[3] *TBC.* ed Windisch, ll. 6121 ff. and Dunn's *Transl.*, p. 363 ff. With regard to the ravages of the Twrch Trwyth in Ireland, Stokes (*Trans. Cymm.*, 1894—1895, p. 145) notes "the disastrous hunt of an equally ferocious boar in the Dinnsheanchus of Loch Con, in *R. C.* XV, 474."

[4] *Welsh Bard and Poetry of External Nature*, *Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—1913, p. 93.

ward Nature scarcely appealed at all to the emotions and imagination of men, when there was hardly any sympathy with, or insight into, the free and wild life of Nature ... at this time the Celt lived a life of strange sensibility to and sympathy with Nature."[1] "To seek out and watch and love Nature, in its tiniest phenomenon as in its grandest, was given to no people so early and so fully as to the Celt."[2]

In his paper on the *Welsh Bard and the Poetry of External Nature*, Mr. Glyn Davies compares the Welsh Nature poetry of the early period, the "Englyn Period" as he terms it, with such early Irish Nature poems as the *Four Songs of Summer and Winter*. The most striking Welsh instances, those in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* are obviously the scattered *débris* of some nobler structure; their fragmentary condition and their obvious lack of coherence as regards matter and prosody with the context, suggest that the scribe was preserving what was well-nigh forgotten in his own day.

Lym awel llum brin
anhaut caffael clid
llicrid rid reuhid llin
rysein' gur ar yn conin
ton trathon toid tu tir
gorychel guaetev rac bron baneu bre
breit allan or seuir.[3]

"Keen is the wind, bare the hill,
Difficult is it to find shelter.
The ford is destroyed, the lake is frozen.
One can stand on a single stalk.
Wave after wave covers the coast line,
Loud are the cries on the face of the headland.
Scarcely can one stand in the open."[4]

Most striking is the resemblance in structure and matter between the Welsh poem just quoted and the following Irish poem

[1] Prof. Lewis Jones, *The Celt and the Poetry of Nature, Trans. Cymm.*, 1892—1893, p. 53.

[2] K. Meyer, *Ancient Irish Poetry*, Introd. xii.

[3] *BBC.*, p. 89, 1—4.

[4] Transl. Glyn Davies, *loc. cit.* p. 84.

ascribed to Fionn in the commentary on the *Amra Choluimb Chille*:

Scel lem duib: dordaid dam
snigid gaim, rofaith sam,
gaeth and huar, isel grian,
gair ar-rith, ruirthech rian,
roruad raith, rochelt cruth,
rogab gnath gingrand guth.[1]

"My tidings for you: the stag bells.
Winter snows, summer is gone.
Wind high and cold, low the sun,
Short his course, sea running high.
Deep red the bracken, its shape all gone,
The wild goose has raised his wonted cry."

In these, as Meyer has said, we get "no elaborate or sustained description of any scene or scenery, but rather a succession of pictures and images which the poet, like an impressionist, calls up before us by light and skilful touches."[2]

Striking, too, is the resemblance between the Welsh stanzas on Spring found in the *Black Book* and an Irish poem on the same theme:

Kintevin keinhaw amsser!
dyar adar, glas callet,
creidir in rich, ich iguet,
guirt mor, brithottor tiret.[3]

"Spring, season most pleasant!
Birds twitter, green are the stalks,
Ploughs in the furrow, oxen in the yoke,
Green the sea, variegated the land."

Céttamain, cáin ré!
rosair cucht and,
canait huin laid lain,
dia mbeith lai gai gann.

[1] *R. C.*, XX, pp. 258, and *Four Songs*, p. 14.
[2] *Anc. Irish Poetry*, Introd. xiii.
[3] *BBC.* p. 33, ll. 1—4.

Meldach ree ruan,
rofaith garb gam,
gel cach ross toirthech,
sid subach samh.[1]

"Mayday, season surpassing!
Splendid is colour then,
Blackbirds sing a full lay,
If there be a slender shaft of day.

Delightful is the season's splendour,
Rough winter has gone,
White is every fruitful wood,
A joyous peace is summer."[2]

It is worthy of note that the Welsh stanzas are prefaced by the words *kintevin keinhaw amsser* ("Spring, the fairest season"), which form an odd line and evidently do not belong to the poem which follows. The subsequent lines make a rhymed triplet.[3] The words *kintevin keinhaw amsser* read suspiciously like a translation of the Irish *céttamain cáin ré.*[4] It may be that the Irish poem had attained a certain amount of popularity and that the opening line had come to be used as a generic name for this sort of Nature poetry. Or may we take it as indicating that the Welsh scribe was familiar with the opening line and prefixed it to a Welsh poem on the same theme?

Such Nature poems as those just quoted are rare in Welsh. The commoner form of "Nature poetry" is found in the poems of the *Red Book of Hergest.* Here the theme is seen in its most corrupt form when the description of natural phenomena, of weather and of landscape features, has degenerated into a sort of mnemonic tag, a conventional opening of two or three

[1] *R. C.* V. p. 201 and *Four Songs,* p. 8.

[2] Transl. Meyer, *Four Songs.*

[3] Noted by Glyn Davies, *Welsh Bard* etc., p. 87 n. But as Prof. Gwynn Jones points out to me, *amser* might well rhyme with *callet, guet* and *tiret* in *BBC.* Cp. *Bardism and Romance,* p. 268.

[4] The Irish *céttamain* is the phonetic equivalent of the O.W. *kintevin (cynhefin).* Acc. to O'Clery's Glossary, *cétamain* is identical in meaning with *beltaine* "May", hence Meyer's translation "Mayday",

lines of Nature description followed by an irrelevant maxim or proverb. Such are the *Eiry mynydd* series in the *Red Book*, thirty-six stanzas beginning with the words "mountain snow," the last line in each stanza being an adage or proverbial saying, the whole, as Mr. Glyn Davies says, "bearing the appearance of a rehash of better stuff." It is obvious that the art of Nature poetry which in time gave rise to the development of these "Nature tags" as a memorising instrument, must have been a predominant one. These later conventions, says Mr. Glyn Davies, point to a lost body of Nature poetry "for conventions are the outcome of a one-time commonplace."[1]

This early Nature poetry, as Mr. Glyn Davies has pointed out,[2] is not the poetry of the farmer or of the hunter. It is that of the solitary and the hermit, of such as he who prayed for "a hidden little hut in the wilderness" within hearing of the "many-voiced birds" and the running water of the little brook. "I have a shieling in the wood, none knows it save my God," said Marvan the Hermit to his royal brother, "the swarms of bees and chafers, the little musicians of the world," a vast multitude of birds, "the bravest band make cheer to me, who have not been hired; in the eyes of Christ the Ever-young I am no worse off than thou art."[3] The Irish hermit heard the "lowing of heifers in summer," "the voice of the wind against the branchy wood upon the deep blue sky." "'In hill, in plain, in the islands of the sea, wherever one may go, there is no retreat from Blessed Christ,' so sang one who knew of the solitary retreat in hill, plain and island."[4]

It was to men such as these, men of piety and learning, who "sought Christ in the wilderness" (*Christum in eremum quaerere*), that it was given to know and love Nature in all her moods. "The social conditions were as favourable in Wales as in Ireland," writes Mr. Glyn Davies, "but whether the conditions of literary culture were is a point that needs working out. In the meantime it may be remarked that the only dis-

[1] Glyn Davies, *Welsh Bard* etc., p. 98.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 91—92.

[3] *King and Hermit*, ed. and transl. by Meyer, London, 1901.

[4] Glyn Davies, *Welsh Bard* etc., p. 92. It may be noted that these lines are from the poem in which occurs the description of "Spring, fairest season" quoted *supra*, (*BBC.* p. 33).

cernible probability of initiative in Nature poetry is in Irish; indeed the difference between Irish and Welsh poetry in initiative and in the individual factor is striking. That is to say, present appearances suggest that the idea of Nature poetry came to Wales from Ireland."[1]

The most striking examples of Irish Nature poetry, the *Four Songs of Summer and Winter*, have been proved on linguistic grounds to belong to the Old-Irish period, "most probably to the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century."[2] The Welsh poems, the *Llyfr Awel* séries, are found in one of the oldest Welsh manuscripts, the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (12th cent.). We have seen how close were the relations between Irish and Welsh hermits in the 6th—7th centuries, and, to a less degree, in the 8th—9th. This intercourse lasted up to the 11th century. Irish monks undoubtedly did much for the British church throughout the early centuries; the number of Irish ecclesiastics in Wales was relatively greater than that of Welsh monks in Ireland. The Irish hermits and wanderers were renowned for their learning, ecclesiastical and profane. It does not seem an altogether improbable conjecture that these Irish monks and clerics should have taught their brother Celts in Wales that love of Nature which we find expressed in these fragmentary poems.

MARWNAD CORROI.

Besides this early Nature poetry which possibly owes its inspiration to Irish sources, there is one Welsh poem extant which testifies unmistakably to some knowledge of Irish literature in Wales in the Middle Ages. There is in the *Book of Taliesin* a poem which has been assigned to the first part of the 12th century,[3] entitled *Marwnat Corroi m. Dayry*, "the Elegy of Cúróí mac Dairi," an Irish chieftain of the Ulster cycle

[1] *Ib.* p. 93.

[2] Meyer, *Four songs*, p. 5. Two such early Irish Nature poems occur in the Old-Irish glosses (cp. *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II., 290 and Meyer, *Anc. Irish Poetry*, p. 99) undisputably the composition of monkish scribes.

[3] Meyer assigns the poem to the 9th cent. (*Trans. Cymm.*, 1895—1896, p. 71). The later date is given by Loth who bases his view on a study of the metre (*R. C.* XXI, pp. 45—56).

who was slain by Cúchulainn.[1] According to Meyer, in this poem "the well-known Irish tale of the storming of Cúrói mac Dairi's fort by the Ulster hero, Cuchulinn, is alluded to in a way which shows that this Irish story was well-known to a Welsh audience. Indeed, as is generally the case with this kind of composition, the poem can hardly be understood by anyone not perfectly acquainted with all the incidents of the legend."[2]

There is much that is obscure in the language of the poem. In part it may be tentatively translated as follows:[3]

"The tide fills into the extensive fountain. It comes, it passes, it hastens, it presses on. The Death-song of Corroi has agitated me... Alas! a man of harsh disposition. I have not heard of many whose misfortunes were greater. The son of Dayry held a rudder on the southern sea.[4] Renowned was his fame before he was placed in the grave... a conquering hero of great ardour... Tales are known to me truly and completely.[5] The encounter of Corroi and Cocholyn, many were their contentions on their borders."

The ending of the poem is conventional:

"There is a city to the Lord [reading *caer y sy i gulwyd*] which does not fall, which does not tremble — blest is the soul which merits it."

It is difficult to agree with Meyer that there is any reference here to the storming of Cúrói's fort. The fort (*caer*) referred to in the concluding lines must denote Heaven.[6] Beyond a knowledge of the fact that Cúrói was slain by Cúchulainn

[1] *Facsimile BK. Tal.*, pp. 66—18, 67—8. Transl. (tentatively) by Rhys, *Arch. Camb.* 5th series, IX, 1892, pp. 67—68. Rhys's ingenious identification of Cúrói with Carausius, *ib.* pp. 65 ff., has been refuted by Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, p. 78 n 3.

[2] *Trans. Cymm.*, 1895—1896, p. 71. The Irish tale has been edited and translated from *YBL.* by R. I. Best, *Eriu*, II, 18—35, and from Laud 610 by Meyer, *R. C.* VI, 187—188. A modern version occurs in *Keating*, II, 222.

[3] The translation here given is from the lectures of Prof. Ifor Williams.

[4] Possibly an allusion to the well-known wanderings of Cúrói.

[5] Is the Welsh poet here alluding to his knowledge of Irish tales?

[6] Prof. W. J. Gruffydd who translates the concluding lines: "Slender is the fort, it neither falls nor quakes," sees in them an allusion to the revolving fort of Cúrói (*Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—1913, p. 23 n). *Caer ny grin* is hardly applicable to a revolving fort.

(implied in the words *kyfranc corroi achocholyn*) the Welsh poet does not show any close acquaintance with the legend. It seems more advisable to agree with Loth who considers that the Welsh poem is an imitation of some Irish poem on the death of Cúrói.[1] The forms of the Irish names in the Welsh poem, *Corroi* and *Cocholyn*, which bear all the appearance of oral transmission, suggest that the imitation was of an Irish poem heard by the Welsh composer. Professor Gwynn Jones considers the *Marwnad* to be a metrical fragment from a Welsh tale, *Cyfranc Corroi a Chocholyn*, now lost. Its fragmentary and disjointed character is easily explained if we accept this view. The alternation of prose and verse, comparable with the *cantefable* of French romance, is very common in the Irish tales. It would be natural to find this peculiarity of interspersed verses in a Welsh tale taken from the Irish.

If Loth's ascription of the poem to the 12th century be correct, it is, as he notes, very probable that the Irish legend which forms its theme was brought over to Wales by the Irish minstrels and storytellers of Gruffydd ap Cynan.[2]

HYWEL AP OWAIN GWYNEDD.

The rise of the Gogynfeirdd poetry was contemporary with the last struggle for Welsh independence, and perhaps we may see in it the results of the literary activity of Gruffydd ap Cynan. The Gogynfeirdd were, almost without exception, men of Gwynedd or Powys. "Irish influence," writes Professor Gwynn Jones, "is traceable in the style and structure of the poems of this period [12th century]... Probably the frequent employment of the prefixes *dy-* and *ry-* with infixed pronouns; the use of the word '*derwyddon*' and the introduction of the '*ceangal*' — the repetition of the initial words of a poem as a binding stanza — are also evidence of acquaintance with the language and literature of Ireland. So many details of the alleged Statute of Gruffydd ap Cynan agree with Irish practice that it is difficult to reject altogether the probability that the

[1] *R. C.*, XXI, p. 56. An Irish poem on the death of Cúrói, entitled *Brinna Ferchertne*, has been published by Meyer, *Z. für C. Ph.*, III, pp. 40—46, but it affords no analogies with the Welsh elegy.

[2] *R. C.*, XXI, p. 56.

parallel is due to the introduction of some such customs at a time when the relations of Wales and Ireland are known to have been intimate." [1]

Like the official Irish poets, trained in bardic academies, the Gogynfeirdd looked upon poetry as a profession rather than an inspiration. They sang of their chieftains' victories in battle, lauded their generosity and mourned for them in *marwnadau*. Nature and love were unprofitable themes and did not call forth the wished-for guerdon of their lords; nor did the strict regulations of the bards permit of such lyrical compositions. The Gogynfeirdd poetry thus bears the official stamp; it is "eminently epithetical and adjectival" and couched in language which is often intentionally obscure and archaic.

The poetry of one of these bards, however, stands out in bold relief, that of Hywel ap Owain Gwynedd. Significantly enough this Hywel was of Irish blood on the side of his mother, Pyfog, and had spent some time in Ireland.[2] "His poems," according to Professor Gwynn Jones, "certainly express an appreciation of nature and a love of country much more characteristic of Irish than of Welsh verse." [3] His longest poem, *Gorhoffed Howel,* a eulogy of Gwynedd, is "unique of its kind in Welsh poetry." [4] Mr. Glyn Davies compares the passionate love of homeland expressed in it with the Irish poem "Columcille's Greeting to Ireland": "There is a difference between the form of this poem and that of Howel's, but only in detail. Colum Cille names one beloved place after another, the Hill of Howth, Loch Lene, Linny, Munster, Meath and

[1] *Bardism and Romance,* pp. 300—301. Prof. Ifor Williams notes the presence of "Irish rhymes" in Welsh poetry, *Y Beirniad,* VI, 3, pp. 203—205. Prof. Gwynn Jones (*Bardism and Romance,* p. 268) notes that "identity of terminal vowels with variation of consonants was evidently sufficient to constitute rhyme" in the metres of *BBC., Bk. Tal.* and *Book of Aneirin.*

[2] Hywel was the son of Owain Gwynedd by an Irishwoman named Pyfog, according to the *Gwentian Brut.* Through his father also, Hywel inherited some Irish blood, Owain being the son of the half-Irish Gruffydd ap Cynan. Hywel spent some time in Ireland whither he went to recover his mother's patrimony. Prof. Gwynn Jones suggests that Pyfog is the Welsh translation of some such name as *Ciabhach,* with an older or alternate form *Puyfawc.*

[3] *Bardism and Romance,* p. 292. Cp. also Prof. Gwynn Jones in *Y Beirniad,* I, p. 8.

[4] *The Welsh Bard and the Poetry of External Nature,* p. 98.

Derry. In the first part of his poem, Howel takes in all Gwynedd in an impassioned geographical summary; in the second part Meirionydd, Cymer and Tegeingl come to his mind. Colum Cille recalls the sloes and oakwoods, illustrious men and illustrious women 'for fond espousal.' Howel singles out seagulls and shingle, trefoil and woman .... The poems agree in their perception of the beauty of landscape; they were lovely lands. Colum Cille in his delight in the bareness of the shores of Howth, and Howel in his love for even the vast wilderness of Gwynedd, were at one in spirit. Impending exile moved Colum Cille to song and perhaps actual exile Howel." [1]

DEIBHIDHE AND CYWYDD.

There is a thorny problem regarding the connection between the Irish *deibhidhe* metre and the Welsh *cywydd deuair hirion* awaiting solution by metrical experts. It seems safer to confine ourselves for the present to a statement of the points of resemblance between the Welsh metre and the Irish and the suggestions already offered to account for these similarities.[2]

The *deibhidhe* metre is the commonest of the Irish syllabic metres; the earliest example of it dates from the early 9th century.[3] It consists of a quatrain of heptasyllabic lines. "In these the two verses of the couplet rhyme; and if the first verse ends in a monosyllable, the second must end in a disyllable or trisyllable; similarly if the first ends in a disyllable, the second must end in a trisyllable." [4]

The *cywydd deuair hirion* (*cdh*) appears first in the 14th century, but its perfection when it first appears and its subsequent popularity have led scholars to believe that it had

[1] *Ib.*, p. 100. In the poem Hywel says that he hopes to return from exile. Glyn Davies translates the Welsh poem pp. 98—99. The Irish poem occurs in *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, p. 285, translated by Meyer, *Ancient Irish Poetry*, p. 83, and ascribed by him to the 12th century.

[2] See Glyn Davies, *Welsh Metrics*; Ifor Williams, *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'r Glêr*, *Trans. Cymm.*, 1913—1914, pp. 176—182. T. Thurneysen, *R. C.*, VI, 336—347 derives *Debide* metre from a Latin measure, ep. esp. p. 340.

[3] The poem *Messe ocus Pangur Bán*, *Thes. Pal.* II, 295; Meyer, *Ancient Irish Poetry*, p. 114, "The language is that of the late 8th or early 9th century."

[4] Meyer, *Primer of Irish Metrics*, p. 8.

previously "a long underground career."[1] It consists of "an unrestricted number of rhyming couplets with seven technical syllables in each line, and its essential feature is its obligatory unrhythmical rhyme."[2]

Thus the points of resemblance between the two metres are: the seven-syllable line and the unrhythmical rhyme. The points wherein they differ are: (*a*) the Irish strophe unit is the quatrain, whereas in Welsh it is the couplet, (*b*) in Irish the shorter (monosyllabic or disyllabic) rhyme must always stand in the first verse of the couplet, while in Welsh it may equally well stand in the second.

As regards the first difference Mr. Glyn Davies remarks that "a quatrain unit in the *cdh*, to correspond to the *debide scáilte*, would have been liable to be disturbed by a six-bar tune in the singing of the *cdh*."[3] The second point wherein the metres differ is, as Meyer has proved, due to a later development of the metre in Irish on independent lines.[4] He gives twelve examples of the "Welsh position of the rhyme" from Irish poems in a ruder and earlier form of the metre, which on linguistic grounds may be ascribed to the 8th century.

The main difficulty is the question of the origin and development of the unrhythmical rhyme. It occurs in other Welsh metres, in the *englyn unodl union* where it is obligatory and in the *traethawdl* where it is optional. Welsh scholars are not agreed as to its origin. Thus Mr. Glyn Davies considers the unrhythmical rhyme of the *englyn unodl union* "a recent development of the 14th century,"[5] and compares the unrhythmical rhyme of *cdh* with that of the Irish *deibhidhe,* without however deciding whether the Irish was borrowed from Welsh or the Welsh from Irish, or whether the Irish and Welsh metres developed this feature each independently. Prof. Ifor Williams, however, has shown that the unrhythmical rhyme was not at first obligatory in the *englyn unodl union,* but became common

[1] Glyn Davies, *Trans. Cymm.*, 1912—1913, p. 107.

[2] Glyn Davies, *Welsh Metrics*, p. 11.

[3] *Welsh Metrics*, p. 74, Cp. Ifor Williams, *Trans. Cymm.*, 1913—1914, p. 180.

[4] Meyer, *On Debide Rhyme, Eriu*, VII, p. 10: "The stricter rules of metrical composition were not developed all at once; and in the older poetry there are numerous instances to show that greater liberty and licence prevailed."

[5] *Welsh Metrics*, p. 72.

in the Gogynfeirdd poetry in the course of the 12th century.[1] He therefore suggests that the inventor of the *cdh*, borrowing the Latin measure which gave the Welsh *traethawdl* metre, found the unrhythmical rhyme ready to his hand in the monorhyme *englyn* and imposed it as a strict rule on the *cdh* metre. This theory, while it does not account for the origin of unrhythmical rhyme in the monorhyme *englyn*, places the invention of the *cdh* metre at too late a date for us to assume any borrowing of the Irish *deibhidhe* from the Welsh metre. Prof. Williams, however, acknowledges the possibility of the Irish metre having influenced the Welsh *cdh*, since it is fairly certain that there was Irish influence on Welsh music.[2]

One is tempted to see in the unrhythmical rhyme of Welsh metres the result of the shifting of the accent in Welsh from the ultima to the penult.[3] Poetry, the form of which was stereotyped, would retain words which had once rhymed rhythmically but which, after the shifting of the accent, rhymed unrhythmically. The novel effect of the unrhythmical rhyme may have pleased the ears of mediaeval versifiers, who therefore retained it. This would account for unrhythmical rhyme in Welsh, but not for its presence in the Irish *deibhidhe*. Unrhythmical rhyme does not occur in Welsh before the Gogynfeirdd period. The shifting of the accent in Welsh had taken place by the 14th century as is proved by cynghanedd. According to Sir John Morris Jones, the transition probably took place in the Early Middle Welsh period, that is about the 12th century.[4]

There is no such phenomenon in the history of Irish accentuation to account for the presence of unrhythmical rhyme. If there is any connection between the Irish metre and Welsh, it must be that the Irish borrowed the unrhythmical rhyme

[1] *Trans. Cymm.*, 1913—1914, p. 178.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 180—181.

[3] This seems to be the view of Gwynn Jones, *Y Beirniad*, I, p. 8: "Awgryma rhai fod cysylltiad rhwng y cywydd a'r mesur Gwyddelig a elwir *Debide*. Y mae amryw fathau o'r mesur hwnnw, ond yr odl mewn rhai ohonynt, yn unig, hyd y gwelaf fi, sydd yn ei wneuthur yn fesur rhywbeth yn debyg i'r cywydd. Ond nid yw'r odl rhwng sillaf ddiacen ag un acenedig yn arbenigrwydd ar y cywydd yn unig ymysg y mesurau Cymreig, heblaw fod symudiad yr acen, hwryach, yn ddigon i gyfrif am darddiad yr odl yn Gymraeg."

[4] *Welsh Grammar*, 40.

from Welsh.[1] It is a tempting solution, but it presents one difficulty. The unrhythmical rhyme of Irish *deibhidhe* was fully developed by the early 9th century. If the Welsh accent had not shifted at that period *i. e.* if what had been rhythmical rhyme in Welsh had not become unrhythmical rhyme, how could the Irish have borrowed unrhythmical rhyme? May we take the early occurence of unrhythmical rhyme in the Irish *deibhidhe* as evidence that the Welsh accent had shifted before the 9th century? For if we assume that the Irish borrowed this feature from Welsh, we must also assume that the Welsh accent had shifted from the ultima to the penult before the period of borrowing.

MUSIC.

There is a strong Welsh tradition that Gruffyd ap Cynan introduced Irish minstrels and musicians into Wales. Professor Gwynn Jones, who has dealt fully with the question in his paper on *Bardism and Romance,* concludes that the tradition is well-founded.[2] There is a Welsh tradition, too, of a musical session held in "Glyn Achlach" in Ireland by a number of musicians and bards, at which were drawn up "the twenty-four measures" and their twenty-four arrangements or variations. Additional support is given to these traditions by the occurence in Welsh of names of various airs or tunes which appear to be of Irish origin, such as *Difr Macadelgi, Caniad ar Gainc Cocholyn, Caniad Iarll Cormac Wyddel, Y Wyddeles, Cwlwm y Gwyddel, Caniad y Gwyddel, Caniad y Marchoc Gwyddel,* etc.[3]

Grattan Flood quotes from Powell's 16th century *Historie of Cambria* the assertion that "the Irish devised all the instruments, tunes and measures in use among the Welsh."[4] Giraldus

[1] Dr. O. J. Bergin, Dublin, is the author of the theory that the Irish metre was borrowed from the Welsh.

[2] *Trans. Cymm.*, 1913—1914, pp. 232—237.

[3] *Ib.*, pp. 234—235. Also noted by Prof. Ifor Williams, *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'r Glêr*, p. 161. Grattan Flood in his *History of Irish Music* lays stress on Welsh indebtedness to Irish music. His references, however, are vague, and his account of Gruffydd ap Cynan's work for Welsh music and his identification of "Mwrchan brenhin" with Murtough O'Brien and of "Glyn Achlach" with Glendalough seem to be mere guesswork. Cp. also Bunting, *Ancient Music of Ireland,* pp. 46 ff.

[4] *History of Irish Music*, p. 48.

Cambrensis, in the 12th century, noted that the Scotch and Welsh strove to imitate the Irish in musical proficiency.[1] There can be little doubt as to the historical validity of these traditions. Perhaps future comparative studies of Welsh and Irish music may throw more light on the matter.

LANGUAGE

There was ample opportunity for the borrowing of words between Welsh and Irish up to at least the 12th century. The early Irish settlements in Wales, the contact between the Irish and Welsh churches, commerce, intermarriage, would all favour the introduction of loan-words into the languages of both nations.

Pedersen asserts that the Irish language is honeycombed with British elements.[2] Many of the British loan-words in Irish probably date from the period of the introduction of Christianity and the concomitant Latin alphabet and Latin learning. The introduction of Latin letters by Britons is reflected clearly in the orthographical system of early manuscript Irish and in the form of various Latin loan-words in Old-Irish.

Unlike the orthographical system of Ogham writing, the early Irish manuscript system exhibits a regular variation in consonant values according as the consonants are initial or non-initial. Thus in the initial position the consonants retain their normal value as in Latin; but medially or finally a tenuis is denoted by doubling the consonant (*macc*), the media by the tenuis or the double media (*oac, abb*), the aspirate media by the simple media (*dub, fid*). According to MacNeill, this conventional treatment of the consonants reflects the early Irish pronunciation of Latin, which was adopted by the Irish from British missionaries. "Latin, during the Roman rule, became a second language to the Britons and its pronunciation being domesticated followed the changes in pronunciation of the native language. In fine, the consonant

[1] *Topographia Hibernica*, III, 11, "Notandum vero quod Scotia et Wallia, haec propagationis illa commeationis et affinitatis gratia, Hiberniam in modulis æmula imitari nituntur disciplina."

[2] *Vergleich. Grammatik*, I, 21

system in early Irish manuscripts was based on a modified British form of Latin." [1]

As Zimmer has shown, the earliest Latin loan-words in Irish cannot be explained by the theory that they were borrowed direct from Latin, but only by assuming that these Latin words were interpreted to the Irish by British mouths. Thus O. Ir. *trindóit* (*trinitat-*), *umaldóit* (*humilitat-*),[2] *casc* (*pasca*), *caille* (*pallium*), *corcur* (*purpura*), *srian* (*frenum*), *sraigell* (*flagellum*), etc. were borrowed through the medium of British. "Trying to speak to the Irish in their own language," says Zimmer, "and observing the difference of *c* : *p* (*cenn* : *penn*) . . . in numerous words common to both British and Irish, the Britons transferred this difference also to the loan-words from Latin, and, so to speak, hibernicised their British form by saying *casc* instead of *pasc*, just as the Irish *cenn* stood in place of British *penn*." [3]

The earliest English loan-words in Irish, too, came through British. Thus Ir. *rón*, "seal," from O. E. *hran*; Ir. *rót*, "way, road," W. *rhawd*, from O. E. *rad*; mid. Ir. *onmit* (mod. Ir. *óinmhid*), mid. W. *ynfyt* (mod. W. *ynfyd*), from O. E. *unwitti*.[4]

Irish borrowings in Welsh are not so numerous. Welsh, however, contains a fair number of Gaelic loan-words, most of which probably came in with the early Irish colonists of Wales, some no doubt at a later period through the Irish-speaking mercenaries of Welsh princes, and a few, judging by their form, probably from Manx as a result of Welsh contact and intercourse with the Gaelic-speaking population of the Isle of Man at various periods.[5]

[1] *On the Irish Ogham Inscriptions*, pp. 336—9. Cp. Vendryes, *De Hib. Voc.*, pp. 66—7. Thus in O. W. *amcibret* the *b* represents what was pronounced *f* (*v*), (mod. W. *amgyffred* shows provection to *ff*). Similarly O. W. *atar* (*adar*), *litan* (*llydan*), *scipaur* (*scubawr*, *ysgubor*), etc. Cp. *W. G.*, pp. 20—21.

[2] For development of Lat. *ā* in W. cp. *W. G.*, pp. 93—4. Cp. Bede's *Dinoot*, mid. W. *Dunawt*, from Lat. *Donātus*.

[3] *Celtic Church*, pp. 24 ff. Zimmer gives *sruth* : *ffrwd* as a similar formation to *srian* : *ffrwyn*, but W. *rhwd* is etymological equivalent of Ir. *sruth*. Cp. *W. G.*, p. 143.

[4] *Vergleich. Grammatik*, 20.

[5] See *Z. für C. Ph.*, I, pp. 48 ff. for probable Welsh relations with Man in the 9th century. For 12th century relations see Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 588. The summer of 1193 was called *haf y Gwyddyl*, "the Gaelic Summer," because of the influx of Gaelic-speaking allies from Man into North Wales.

BRITISH LOAN-WORDS IN IRISH

Pedersen in his *Comparative Celtic Grammar* gives over sixty examples of British loan-words in Old and Modern Irish.[1] He notes also the British origin of the Irish *an-* intensive particle, and the Irish suffix *-óc* (*-óg*) borrowed from the Welsh *-awc* (*-og*). Stokes compiled a list of the Welsh words occuring in Irish annals etc., in a paper contributed to the *Transactions of the Philological Society*.[2] But so far no other attempt has been made to collect all these borrowings.

The following loan-words are fairly certain:

annlann, "a condiment," mid. Ir. *andlond*, from W. *enllyn*, "a condiment." Noted by Pedersen.

áros, *árus*, "a dwelling," from mid. W. *arhos*, mod. W. *aros* (v. n.), "to stay, abide." Noted by Pedersen.

atal, "cessation from rain, stillness, calmness after a storm," seems to be from W. *atal* (*ad-dal*), "stop, hindrance."

banna, "a drop," in mid. Ir.; mod. Ir. *bainne*, "milk." Cp. Corn. *banne* gl. *gutta*; Bret. *banne*, Trég. *bannec'h*. Noted by Pedersen.

blaed, "a shout, cry," in mid. Ir., (*blaodh* i. *gáir*, O'Cl.), seems to be from W. *bloedd*, "a shout." Noted by Meyer (*Contribb.*).

blaesg, *bloesg*, "a shell, scale, husk or pod" (Meyer, *Contribb.*), mod. Ir. *blaosg* and the later form *plaosg*, from W. *ballasg*, "shell, husk."

blonac, "fat, lard," in mid. Ir.; mod. Ir. *blonag*, from mid. W. *blonec*, mod. W. *bloneg*, "lard, grease." Noted by Pedersen. Rhys takes the W. word to be a loan from Goidelic, but the suffix suggests that the Irish was borrowed from the Welsh.

bróenach, "sorrowful," in mid. Ir.; mod. Ir. *braonach*. Pedersen equates with "W. *brwynog*, *brwynog* from *brwyn* = Ir. *brón*," but the W. word is *brwyn* (adj.), "sad."

[1] *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, I and II.

[2] *On the Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals*, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1889–90. Stokes includes in his list the Welsh words which occur in *Cormac's Glossary*, but his list purports to be one of Welsh words occurring in Irish, not a list of Irish borrowings from Welsh. Cormac's words were probably from manuscript sources; in form they are Old-Welsh.

brogóid, "bragget," from W. *bragawd,* id., O. W. *brocaut* gl. *mulsum,* gl. *mellicatum*; Corn. *bregaud.* Noted by Pedersen and Stokes.

brothrach, "a bed-cover, coverlet." Old Bret. *brothrac* gl. *taxam.* Cp. Ir. *brat, bréid,* W. *brethyn.* Noted by Pedersen.

caoince, "a melody, strain of music," mid. Ir. *cáince,* seems to be from the W. *cainc,* "song, strain, tune."

cáin, mod. Ir. *caoin,* "beautiful," from W. *cain,* "fair, beautiful," Bret. *quen.* Cp. the parallel usage in O. Ir. *cainrognatha* gl. *quae bene acta sunt,* and O. W. *ni cein guodeimisauch* gl. *non bene passae.* Noted by Pedersen.

cáintech, "plaintful," mod. Ir. *caoin-,* from W. *cwyn,* "complaint." Corn. *ken,* Bret. *keini.* Noted by Pedersen.

cáir, "berry," mod. Ir. *caor,* from W. *cair,* "berry." Cp. Ir. *caorthann,* W. *cerddin,* Corn. *kerden,* Bret. *kerzin.* Noted by Pedersen.

carric, "a rock," mod. Ir. *carraig,* from mid. W. *carrec,* pl. *cerric,* mod. W. *carreg,* "a stone." Noted by Pedersen.

caur, "a champion," in mid. Ir., g. *caurad,* seems to be a borrowing from W. *cawr,* "a giant."

cél gl. *augurium,* in O. Ir., "an omen," from W. *coel,* "omen, belief." O. W. *coilou* gl. *auspiciis,* O. Bret. *coel* gl. *haruspicem.* Noted by Pedersen.

célmaine, "augury, omen," in mid. Ir., from W. *coelfain,* "joyful tidings." Related to Lat. *caerimonia.* Noted by Pedersen.

cianóg, cionóg, "a small coin, a farthing," seems to be from W. *ceiniog,* "a penny." In mid. W. commonly *keinhauc, keinhawc.* Silvan Evans derives the W. word from *cain* or *can,* "white," but Prof. Ifor Williams suggests a connection with *cant,* "circle."

claideb, "a sword," mod. Ir. *claidheamh,* from W. *cleddyf.* (See *W. G.,* pp. 109, 177; Ped., II, 29; Vendryes, *R. C.* XXX, 208). Pedersen suggests that the Irish word was borrowed before vowel affection of *a* had taken place in British.

cnái gl. *vellis,* in O. Ir., "a fleece, cover," from W. *cnaif,* "fleece." Corn. *kneu,* Bret. (Vannes) *kaneo.* Noted by Pedersen.

connall gl. *stipulam,* in O. Ir., "a stalk, stubble," mod. Ir. *connlach,* "stubble," from W. *conell,* "a tail, a blade," (*cawn, conyn*). Noted by Pedersen.

dáin in O. Ir., "delicate, fine" (Meyer, *Contribb.*), from W. *dain*, "fine, delicate, pure." Noted by Pedersen and Vendryes.

dim in O. Ir., "something," from W. *dim*, "something." (In modern W. from constant association with the negative *dim* has come to mean "nothing"). Ml. 75 b 10, *ni di nacca dim* i. *acht is du dim* gl. *non de nihilo*; Ml. 130 d 7, *it nephdimdi*. Noted by Pedersen.

dretill, treitell, "lover," from W. *tryth'll*, "voluptuous, indulgent." Noted by Pedersen.

faibur, "edge," mod. Ir. *faobhar*, from W. *gwaewawr* (later *gwewyr*), pl. of *gwaew*, "a spear" = Ir. *gae*. Noted by Pedersen.

faochán, faochóg, "periwinkle," from W. *gwichiad*, "periwinkle, sea-snail," Corn. *gwihan*. Noted by Pedersen.

faoibín, fibín, mod. Ir., "gadding of cattle worried by flies," possibly from W. *gwibio*, "to gad." Cp. W. *gwybed* (fr. *gwybddbed*), "gnats, flies." Prof. Ifor Williams, however, disputes any connection between *gwibio* and *gwybed*. *Gwibio* is used of lightning; flashing and sudden movement together.

fant, in mid. Ir. (*R. C.* IX, 15), "a hollow," from W. *pant*, "concavity, hollow." Noted by Vendryes and Pedersen.

feachair, in mid. Ir. gl. *gér*, "keen" (*Archiv für C. Lex.* III, 284), probably from W. *gwychyr*, "valiant." Suggested by Prof. Lloyd Jones.

foich, in O. Ir. gl. *vespa*, from W. *gwchi*, "bees," Corn. *guhien*, Old Bret. *guohi* gl. *fucos*. (See note by Prof. Ifor Williams, *Y Beirniad*, VII, 186.) Noted by Pedersen.

foilenn, "sea-gull," mod. Ir. *faoileann*, from W. *gwylan*, "gull, sea-mew," Corn. *guilan*, Bret. *goelan*. Noted by Pedersen.

gablach, "a javelin," mod. Ir. *gabhlach*, from W. *gaflach*, "a fork; a dart." Noted by Stokes (*R. C.* XIII, 118). Rhys derives the Welsh word from the Irish, presumably because of the *-ach*. He quotes *y Gwyddyl gaflachawg, Hibernici iaculis armati*, from *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan*, and *gaveloc* from the Norman-French *Song of Dermot*.

gar-, gor-, in mid. Ir. *gor-mac*, "adopted son," mod. Ir. *garmhac, gormhac*; *gar-athair gar-mháthair*, from W. *gor-* (from *gwor-* of which the Ir. etymological equivalent is *for-*) in *gor-*

hendad, "great-grandfather," *gorhenfam*, "great-grandmother." Noted by Pedersen.

gardha, "garden," formed on W. *gardd* (fr. AS. *geard*). Noted by Stokes.

gealbhan, "sparrow," mid. Ir. *gelbund*, from W. *golfan*, "sparrow," Corn. *golvan*, mid. Bret. *goluann*, mod. Bret. *golvan*. Noted by Pedersen.

lestar, "a vessel," mod. Ir. *leastar*, seems to be borrowed from W. *llestr*, "a vessel," Corn. *lester* gl. *navis*, Bret. *lestr*, "ship." Pedersen (I, 81—2) derives the Welsh word from Lat. *linter*, but the derivation is disputed by Vendryes (*R. C.* XXX, 205).

mael, "a chief" (g. *maoil*, FM. 1070), from W. *mael* (fr. **maglos* of which the regular Irish equivalent is *mál*). Noted by Stokes.

mamt, "gap (of a tooth lost)," *mamtach*, "toothless, gap-toothed," from W. *mant*, "jawbone, mouth" (fr. Lat. *mentum*). Noted by Pedersen. The W. *mantach*, "toothless jaw; toothless," *mantachu*, "to expose the jaw," seem re-borrowed from Ir. *mamtach*.

moglaidh, "soft, tender, delicate, fine," *moiglidhe*, "soft, plump, well-looking," seem to be borrowed from W. *mwygl*, "tepid, warm, sultry."

móith, "soft, tender, smooth," mod. Ir. *maoth*, possibly a borrowing from W. *mwyd*, "what is soaked or steeped," *mwydo*, "to soak, to moisten," with Ir. *th* : W. *d*, as in oldest Latin loan-words. Noted by Pedersen.

muince gl. *collarium* in O. Ir., from O. W. *minci* gl. *monile*, mod. W. *mynci*, "part of horse-collar." The Welsh word is obscure, but it seems a compound of *mwng*, "mane," Ir. *mong*. Noted by Pedersen.

nós, "custom," from W. *naws*, "nature, disposition." Cp. W. *naws*, "genial, kind," and negative *afnaws*, "uncandid," from which comes O. Ir. *ammas*, "severe, harsh, insolent, keen, cunning" (Meyer, *Contribb.*). Noted by Pedersen.

ord, "a sledge-hammer," mod. Ir. *órd*, from O. W. *ord*, mod. W. *gordd* with excrescent *g*, "a sledge-hammer." Noted by Morris Jones (*W. G.* 153).

pisóc, "carmen," mod. Ir. *piseóg*, "a charm, a spell." Vendryes (*De Hib. Vocab.* 25) compares Old Bret. *pisoc* (Loth, *Vocab.* 204).

pór, "seed, stock, clan," *póirín*, "a wicket, a little hut for lambs," *póirín seangáin*, "an ant-hill," seem to be from W. *pawr*, "pasture, grazing," *pori*, "to graze, to browse."

robud, robhud, "warning," mod. Ir. *rabhadh*, from W. *rhybudd*, "warning." Noted by Vendryes (*R. C.* XXX, 218) who suggests that the *b* was aspirated in Irish because the word was felt to be a compound with prefix *ro-*.

rón, "horse-hair," *ruainne*, "a single hair," from W. *rhawn*, "horse-hair," *rhonyn*, "a single hair." Cp. *nós* from *nawn*. Noted by Pedersen.

saint, "desire, greed," mod. Ir. *sainnt*, from W. *chwant*, "desire." The alternation *chw-* : *s-* (from Aryan *su-*) was common already in many words; the Irish *-nt* points to borrowing. Noted by Pedersen.

seboc, "hawk," mod. Ir. *seabhac*, from W. *heboc* (AS. *hafoc*). Noted by Stokes.

sgadán, "a herring," from W. pl. *ysgadan*, "herrings." Noted by Pedersen.

sgioból, "barn, granary," from W. *ysgubawr, ysgubor*, "barn" (fr. L. *scōparium*). Suggested by Prof. Lloyd Jones.

smaolach (*smólach, smól*), "thrush," from W. *mwyalch*, "blackbird, ousel." Noted by Pedersen.

tó, in O. Ir. *nathó*, from W. *naddo*. Noted by Pedersen. But cp. Morris Jones, *W. G.* 430.

Many doubtful borrowings have been omitted from the above list. Thus Pedersen derives Ir. *bés, béas*, "custom, habit," from W. *moes*, Bret. *boaz*, "manner, behaviour, civility." But Prof. Ifor Williams derives the W. *moes* (a disyllable) from L. *mo(d)estia*. Pedersen gives Ir. *bil*, "edge" (cpd. *imbel*), as a probable borrowing from Welsh. Compare, however, the derivation given by Morris Jones in his *Welsh Grammar*.[1] The Ir. *cél* gl. *augurium* is given by Pedersen as a borrowing from W. *coel*, "omen," but this also is disputed by Morris Jones.[2] Pedersen suggests that Ir. *colbha*, "post, pillar," is from W. *celff*, "stock, stump, pillar," Bret. *kelf*, "souche," but the borrowing is doubtful. Stokes derives Ir. *clocen*, mod. Ir. *cloigeann*, "skull," from W. *clopen*, but *clopen* is a very late

[1] W. G. 159.
[2] *Ib.* 182.

form. *Diallait*, "a saddle," from W. *dillad*, "clothing, covering," seems very doubtful. So also the derivation of Ir. *gaisced*, "armour; valour," from W. *gwisgad*, "dress, apparel," as suggested by Pedersen. Ir. *liathróit*, "a ball," O. Ir. *liathraite* gl. *pilae*, is derived by Pedersen from a W. *llithred* which is, however, not an attested word in Welsh. Pedersen also gives Ir. *milis*, "sweet," as a borrowing from W. *melus*, taking the W. ending *-us* as based on Latin and added to W. *mel*, "honey." But Morris Jones takes Irish and Welsh as cognates derived from different grades of the root **meleit-*.[1] The oldest W. form is *melys*, which is also the living form for the comparative in mod. W. is *melysach*, not *melusach*.

The following Scotch-Gaelic words which resemble Welsh words and which are possibly borrowings, are worthy of note.

bagaid, "a cluster:" W. *bagad*, "cluster; troop, multitude."
beartach, "rich:" W. *berth*, "rich, wealthy," *berthog*, id., *berthedd*, "riches, wealth."
bidean, "a fence," *bid* (Shaw): W. *bid*, "quickset hedge," *bidan*, "twig," *bidio*, "to set a hedge."
blàr, "having a white face or spots on the face (of an animal)": W. *blawr*, "grey, hoary, of a whitish colour."
fàl, "peat-spade, scythe": W. *pal*, "spade."
fath, *fadhbh*, "mole": W. *gwadd*, "mole."
moll, "chaff": W. *mŵl*, "chaff, broken straw."
monadh, "a mountain range": W. *mynydd*, "mountain." The Ir. *monadh* appears only in Lhuyd, (cp. MacBain).
pailt (also E. Ulster), "plentiful," *pailteas*, "plenty:" Cornish, *pals*, "plenteous," Bret. *paot*, "many."
preas, "a bush, briar:" W. *prys*, "brushwood, covert." Cp. Ir. *spreas*, "a twig."
ulbhach (*ul'ach*), "ashes:" W. *ulw*, "ashes, cinders."

IRISH LOAN-WORDS IN WELSH

Rhys was the first to make a collection of some of the Irish loan-words in Welsh. About fifty such borrowings (of which some are very doubtful) were published by him in a paper in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1895. Pedersen gives a few

[1] *Ib.* 127.

examples of Irish loans in Welsh in his *Comparative Celtic Grammar*, as also Sir J. Morris Jones in his *Welsh Grammar*.

The following is a list of fairly certain loans:

agos, "near," Corn. *ogas*, Bret. *hogos*, from Ir. *ocus*, *acus*, mod. Ir. *fogus*, "near." Noted by Pedersen.

arlwyf, "a preparing of food and drink; a mess," seems to be from Manx *aarloo*, *arlû*, "ready, prepared." Mid. Ir. *aurlam*, *urlam*, *erlam*, mod. Ir. *urlamh*, "ready, prepared." The W. *arlwyf* probably stands for earlier *arlwyf*. Cp. *macwyf*, *macwy* from *macaomh*. Noted by Rhys.

bocsach, "boasting or bragging, vainglorious speech" (*yn arwyd bocsach am y vudugolyaeth*, *R. B.* II, 390), from Manx *boggysach*, "boasting." The Ir. form is *bocásach* (*ni do phróis na do bocásaig*, *LL.* 44 a 5), mod. Ir. *bogásach*, "boasting, self-complacency," and *bogfhásach* with spelling probably due to false etymology. Noted by Rhys.

brat, "a rag, a clout: an apron," (pl. *bratteu*, "clouts, rags," *W. B.* 12), from Ir. *brat*, "a cloak, covering, cloth." Noted by Pedersen and Morris Jones.

brecan, *brycan*, "a coverlet or rug" from Ir. *breacán*, "a plaid, chequered stuff." Cp. Sc.-G. *breacan*. Noted by Rhys.

brechdan, *brachdan*, "bread and butter," from Manx *breaghdan*, *braghtan*, "a buttered cake or sandwich," Ir. *breachdán*, *breachtán*, "bread and butter." Noted by Rhys.

bresych, "cabbages, pottage," from mid. Ir. *braisech*, "pottage," mod. Ir. *praiseach*, "pottage, porridge, cabbage," (from Lat. *brassica*). Noted by Rhys who gives W. *bresygen*, "a cabbage" as the direct W. form from the Latin.

broc, "of a mixed colour, grizzled," from Ir. *broc*, "grey, speckled." Noted by Pedersen.

bygwyth, *bygwth*, "threatening," possibly from Ir. *bagairt* or Manx *baggyrt*, "to threaten." Suggested by Rhys. For uncertainty as to *r* he compares W. *elgerth*, *elgeth*, "jaw or chin."

byth, "ever," from Ir. *bith*, "world." Cp. Ir. *bith-beo*, *bith-buan*, etc. Noted by Rhys, Pedersen and Morris Jones.

cadach, "kerchief, clout," *cadachau*, "swaddling clothes," from Ir. *cadach*, "calico." Noted by Rhys.

celc, *celg*, "a wile, trick, stratagem; concealment; a hoard, money saved by stealth," possibly from Ir. *cealg*, "deceit, treachery, plot." Suggested by Rhys.

cerbyd, "chariot, carriage," Old Bret. pl. *cerpit*, from mid. Ir. *carpat*, mod. Ir. *carbad*, "chariot." Pedersen quotes this word as "an absolutely certain example" of British borrowing from Irish. Also noted by Rhys and Stokes.

cleiriach, "a decrepit old man," from Ir. *cléireach*, "a cleric, clerk" (from Lat. *clericus*). The form *cleirch* is also found in Welsh and supports the Irish derivation. Cp. W. *clerig*, *clerigwr*. Noted by Rhys.

cnwc, *cnwch*, "hillock," Old Bret. *cnoch*, mod. Bret. *kneac'h*, from mid. Ir. *cnocc*, mod. Ir. *cnoc*, "hill."

cochl, "a cloak, mantle," from Ir. *cochull*, "a cowl, hood, cloak," (from Lat. *cucullus*). Noted by Rhys.

codwm, "a fall, tumble," (*ymaflyd codwm*, "to wrestle"), from O. Ir. *cutaim*, *cuitim* (v. n. of *con-tuitim*), "a falling down." Noted by Rhys and Pedersen.

cogor, "chattering" (*R. B.* 156. 3; *D. ap. G.* 164. 30), from mid. Ir. *cocur*, mod. Ir. *cogar*, "whisper."

colwyn, "a young dog, cub," from Ir. *coileán*, "a whelp, puppy." Noted by Rhys.

croesan, "buffoon," from Ir. *crossán* gl. *scurra*, "mimic, jester, buffoon." Suggested by Prof. Lloyd Jones.

dengyn, "obstinate, inflexible," from mid. Ir. *dangen*, mod. Ir. *daingean*, "firm, fast, strong." The Welsh word occurs frequently in *BK. Tal.*, *BBC.* and *Anc. Laws*. Suggested by Prof. Lloyd Jones.

dichell, "wile, trick, craft," from mid. Ir. *dichelt*, "act of concealing." Noted by Rhys.

dring-af, "I climb," from O. Ir. *dringim* (v. n. *dréimm*). Suggested by Prof. Lloyd Jones.

drum, *trum*, "ridge, back," from Ir. *druimm*, "back." The older literary W. form is *drum*, which is the surviving form in N. W. dialect. Pedersen takes the Irish word as a borrowing from Welsh. But Rhys derives the Welsh from the Irish.

galar, "mourning, grief," from Ir. *galar*, which has the meaning "trouble, distress," as well as that of "sickness, disease." Cp. Ir. *galar dubhach*, "melancholy."

graen, "grief," possibly from Ir. *gráin*, "a loathing." Suggested by Prof. Lloyd Jones.

Gwyddel, "an Irishman," pl. *Gwyddyl*, from O. Ir. *Góedel*, pl. *Góidil*. The Irish is from a noun stem **goido-* with *-lo-*

adjectival suffix. In Welsh such a form would give **Guddel.* Noted by Zimmer.

jock, joch, "a splash," seems to be borrowed from Manx *jough,* "drink," (Ir. *deoch*). Commonly pronounced *shoch.* But also used in phrase *shoch o wallt,* and Prof. Gwynn Jones believes it to be a modern borrowing from English. Cp. *shockheaded.*

lloppannau, "buskins" (W. *B.* 12), seems to be borrowed from Ir. *lópa,* dim. *lóipín,* "old vampless stocking worn without the shoe: a rag."

lluthrod, "débris of coal or peat dust," from Ir. *luaithre, luaithreach,* "ashes." Suggested by Rhys.

macwyf, macwy, "a youth," from mid. Ir. *maccoem,* mod. Ir. *macaomh,* "a youth." Noted by Rhys.

machdeyrn, "a lord or prince," from O. Ir. *mac-tigirn,* "a prince." Noted by Rhys. Cp. *Trans. Cymm.*, 1895—1896, p. 56 n.

methu, "to fail," from Ir. *meath-aim,* "I decay, fail." Noted by Rhys. Cp. however W. *G.* 129.

poc, "kiss," Bret. *pok,* from mid. Ir. *póc,* mod. Ir. *póg,* "kiss" (from Lat. *pac[is osculum]*, through British medium). Noted by Pedersen. Cp. Loth, *Les Mots Latins,* p. 197.

saer, "artisan," from mid. Ir. *saer,* mod. Ir. *saor,* "artisan." Noted by Stokes.

sil, silod, "spawn, fry of young fish," from Ir. *síl, síol,* "seed," *síol éisg,* "spawn." Manx *sheel.* The Welsh equivalent of Ir. *síol* is *hil.* Noted by Rhys.

sinach used as uncomplimentary epithet in mod. W. *Hên sinach o ddyn* is said in N. W. referring to an untrustworthy man. Possibly from Ir. *sinnach,* mod. Ir. *sionnach,* "a fox." Suggested by Prof. Lloyd Jones.

talcen, "forehead," possibly contains the Ir. *cenn, ceann* (: W. *pen*) in the latter element. Noted by Rhys.

techu, "to skulk, to lurk," possibly from mid. Ir. *teich-ed,* "escaping." Noted by Rhys. But cp. W. *G.* 132.

teilwng, "worthy," from O. Ir. *tualang, tualnge,* "capable, worthy." Noted by Rhys.

twlc, "a sty," from mid. Ir. *tolc.* Cp. *Cóir Anm.* 70. Suggested by Prof. Lloyd Jones.

tywysog, "leader, prince," from Ir. *tóisech,* mod. Ir. *taoiseach,* "chieftain, leader."

ymryson, amryson, "contending, disputing," from Ir. *imreasan,* "quarrelling, disputing." O. Ir. *imfresna* gl. *adversatur.* Noted by Rhys.

ysgien, "knife, scimitar," possibly a borrowing from Ir. *sgian,* "knife." Cp. however *W. G.* 99.

ysmacht from Ir. *smacht,* "restraint, command, authority." The W. word seems to bear the same meaning as the Irish. *Ef a dywawt bot yn well ganthaw colli y dylyet a thref y dat, no godef y smachteu hwynt arnaw ef* (*Bown o Hamtwn,* 165). It also occurs in a 16th century poem (*Barddoniaeth Wm. Llŷn,* 29):

O wir ysmacht ne wres medd
Aeth i Rufain, waith rysfedd.

Among some doubtful borrowings Rhys suggests that W. *annwyl,* "dear," is derived from Gaelic and compares Manx *ennoil,* "endearing, beloved." Morris Jones, however, derives the Welsh word from **induglens,* a metathesis of Latin *indulgens.*[1] Perhaps the Manx *ennoil* is a borrowing from Welsh. There does not appear to be any corresponding Irish form. Rhys derives W. *breg,* "a break, breach; fissure; blemish, defect," from Ir. *bréc,* mod. Ir. *bréag,* "lie, falsehood, deceit," but the long vowel in Irish renders the derivation unlikely. Silvan Evans gives W. *breg* as cognate with Eng. *break.* In deriving W. *clwyf,* "illness, sore, wound" from Ir. *claimh,* "the mange, itch, scurvy," Rhys seems to take the *ai* of the Irish word as a diphthong *ái,* but the *i* is merely a palatal glide. W. *claf,* Ir. *clamh* are parallel forms. The W. *llwch,* "lake," has been derived from the Irish synonym *loch.* But there is no need to assume a borrowing; the W. word may come from primitive **lukso-.*[1] So also W. *ochr, rhuthr* beside Ir. *ochar, ruathar* are not necessarily borrowings. Morris Jones derives the Irish words from an original single consonant, the Welsh from a geminated consonant.[3]

[1] *W. G.* 160, 164.

[2] See D'Arbois de Jubainville's criticism of Rhys's list of borrowings in *R. C.* XVII.

[3] *W. G.* 166.

APPENDIX

NOTE ON ARTHURIAN ROMANCES

Among the parallels to incidents in Arthurian romances, Welsh and Continental, found in Irish literature, the following are the most important:

THE INCIDENT OF BLOOD DROPS ON THE SNOW.

In the Welsh tale of *Peredur* and Chrestien's *Conte du Graal*: in the Irish tale of the *Children of Usnech*. Cp. Nutt, *Studies on Legend of Holy Grail. Incidents of Chrestien's Conte du Graal*, pp. 12, 137—138; Windisch, *Das Keltische Britannien*, p. 134.

THE BEHEADING INCIDENT IN SIR GAWAIN.

The oldest known version of this occurs in *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson. pp. 117—129, 199. Cp. J. Weston, *Legend of Sir Gawain, Grimm Library*, VII, pp. 92 ff. and Schofield, *Mediaeval English Literature*, p. 217.

BLACK AND WHITE SHEEP WHICH CHANGE COLOUR.

In the Welsh tale of *Peredur*; in the Irish *Voyage of Mael Duin. R. C.* IX., pp. 478—480; also in a modern Irish tale, the *Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway*, ed. Hyde, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, I, p. 114 (this last occurrence of incident not noted hitherto). Cp. Windisch, *Das Keltische Britannien*, p. 137.

WITCH WHO RESUSCITATES SLAIN WARRIORS.

In Gerbert's continuation of the *Conte du Graal* (Nutt, *Studies etc.*, pp. 165 ff.); common throughout Gaelic literature, in Campbell's *Highland Tales*, in *Eachtra Lomnochtáin* etc.

ENFANCES OF PEREDUR.

Markedly similar to those of Cúchulainn (Nutt, *R. C.* XII, p. 185 quoting Zimmer). For comparison of *enfances* of Fionn and Peredur, cp. *R. C.* I, p. 194; Windisch, *Das Keltische Britannien*, pp. 136—137.

It is in Irish rather than in Welsh literature that the proofs for the Celtic origin of the Grail legend have been found. Of Parzifal's youth, Simrock wrote (1842): "It cannot be doubted that we have here a variation of the Great Fool folk-tale found among all people. It is hard to say what people possessing this tale first brought it into contact, either by tradition or in writing, with the Grail story, but that people would have the first claim among whom it is found in an independent form". (quoted by Nutt, *Studies etc.*, p. 101, and taken as motto for his work). J. F. Campbell in vol. II of *Popular Tales of the Western Highlands*

(1862) remarks on the *Lay of the Great Fool*: "I am inclined ... to consider this 'lay' as one episode in the adventures of a Celtic hero, who, in the 12th century, became Perceval *le chercheur du basin*. He, too, was poor, and the son of a widow, and half-starved and kept in ignorance by his mother, but nevertheless ... in the end he became possessed of that sacred basin, le Saint Graal, and the holy lance, which though Christian in the story are manifestly the same as the Gaelic talismans which appear so often in Gaelic tales, and which have relations in all popular lore — the glittering weapon which destroys and the sacred medicinal cup which cures." Nutt proves that "the history of the Legend of the Holy Grail is the history of the gradual transformation of old Celtic folk-tales into a poem charged with Christian symbolism and mysticism" (*Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 227 and cp. *R. C.* XII, pp. 182—228).

The question of the connection between Irish literature and the Continental Arthurian Romances has not yet been fully investigated. But as many of the incidents in the Continental romances can be paralleled only in Irish literature (or in the Welsh literature which was based on Continental material) we must postulate a lost body of Breton tales, closely akin to Irish. Whether this kinship was due to a community of Celtic tradition or whether due to borrowings of the Welsh-Breton tales from Irish sources, cannot be precisely determined. The truth, perhaps, lies midway. Gaelic folk-lorists have found much in common between existing Welsh romances and Gaelic oral tradition. That, however, there were opportunities for borrowing and influence cannot be overlooked. There was close intercourse not alone between Ireland and Wales but also between Ireland and Brittany (5th—7th centuries) and between Ireland and S. W. England, Devonshire, Cornwall, (5th—7th centuries). The connection of Ireland with Glastonbury (*Glaistimber na nGaedhal*) is perhaps noteworthy in view of the fact that Glastonbury played an important part in the Grail legend (cp. Nutt, *R. C.* XII, p. 187 and Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 328 ff.). If the parallels were due solely to an original community of mythic legend we should look for more traces of these same incidents in extant Welsh and Breton literature. We have two Welsh Arthurian tales redacted before the Continental Arthurian romances returned to Wales to influence the tales there, viz. *Kulhwch ac Olwen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*. These two tales exhibit Irish influence in a most marked degree. The Celtic (Welsh and Breton) tales which were the source of the Continental romances may well have undergone a similar influence.

We must not overlook, however, the possibility of the Irish romances having been influenced by the Arthurian tales. The name of Arthur the British hero was first used by the 8th century Nennius. Zimmer (*Nenn. Vind.*, pp. 284 ff.) collected the earliest examples of the name. He considers that the mention of 6th—7th century historical characters bearing the name of Arthur testifies to the existence of the Arthur legend at that period, since they were probably named after the famous king-hero. The name occurs in the *Annals of Tigernach* (*R. C.* XVII, p. 160) s. a. 596, where mention is made of Arthur the son of Aedan mac Gabrain, King of the Dál Riata. The famous Mongan mac Fiachna is said in the same Annals (*R. C.* XVII, p. 178) to have been slain by "Arthur son of Bicor the Briton" (thus rendered in *F. M.* but Meyer reading *Bicoir Pretene* translates "Bicor the Pict", *Sitzungsberichte*, 1912, p. 1155). As Nutt has pointed out "the special interest attaching to Arthur son of Bicor lies in his connection

with Mongan, and through Mongan with the Saga of Finn son of Cumal." Reference has been made *infra* to the points of contact between the Fionn Saga in Irish and the Welsh Arthurian Cycle. The Arthurian Saga must have been known in Leinster in the 9th century for we find reference in *A. U.* (s. a. 846) to Arthur son of Muiredach, King of West Liffey. A lost tale *Aigedecht Artuir* is mentioned in the list in the *Book of Leinster*. Various other examples of the name are found in Ireland for the 11th—13th centuries. (See Meyer, *Der Name Artur, Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuß. Akademie*, 1912, pp. 1156—1157; cp. Henderson, *Arthurian motifs in Gaelic literature, Miscellany presented to Dr. Kuno Meyer*, Halle, 1912, pp. 18—33, esp. p. 27.)

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

p. 3 l. 9. For "thongh" read "though."

p. 8 l. 12. For "1922" read "1912."

p. 10 l. 18. For "and by old notion" read "and by the old notion."

p. 28. Recent archaeological investigations seem to minimise the connection between the Bronze Age ornament of Ireland and that of Scandinavia. See M. L'Abbé Breuil, *A Study of the Chronology of Bronze Age Sculpture in Ireland, Proc. R. I. A.* XXXVI, C. 1 (1921), p. 8. See also note on the stone-monuments of Gavr'inis in the same article (p. 9) where the writer goes so far as to call Gavr'inis "an Irish monument in the same sense as the mounds of Armorica erected over the ship-burials of the northern pirates are called Scandinavian."

p. 40 l. 3. For "presreved" read "preserved."

p. 43. For a refutation of D'Arbois de Jubainville's identification of "the men of Menia" in the story of Labraid Loingseach with the Menapii of Gaul, see an article by E. C. Quiggin in *R. C.* XXXVIII (1920) pp. 16—17. Quiggin contends that the original reading in the manuscript of the tale was *Armon* i. e. *Arvon* in N. Wales, but that the Irish scribe, unfamiliar with the name, resolved a contracted form into *Armenia*. The reading *tir fer Menia* Quiggin takes to be an attempt to correct the obviously impossible *Armenia* of the other manuscripts. The Irish tale is, therefore, evidence of early Irish relations with Wales rather than with Gaul. In connection with the lances (*laigne*) of Labraid's allies, see note on Ir. *Laigin*, W. *Lleyn infra* p. 35 n [3].

p. 68 n [3]. For "23/n" read "321 n."

p. 81. The earliest identification of the Irish surname McQuillin with the Welsh Llywelyn seems to be that which occurs in a memoir by Sir Henry Sidney, English Deputy, 1583 (*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. III (1855) p. 92): "the country called the Route, or MacGwillin's country, which descended of the Welsh name Llewelin." In R. O'Flaherty's *Description of West or H-Iar Connaught* (written in 1684) there is reference to "the half barony of Rosse [Co. Galway], commonly called Joyce Countrey from a Welsh family of Yoes, Joas, or Shoyes, which held that land from the O'Flaherties," (ed. Hardiman, pp. 44—45).

p. 81 n [1]. For "*Baróid*," "*Baróideacha*," "*Bairéad*," read "*Báróid*," "*Báróideacha*," "*Báiréad*."

p. 91 l. 10. For "disestablishement" read "disestablishment."

p. 97 l. 33. For "Brithany" read "Brittany."

p. 101 l. 16. For "oráit" read "óráit."

p. 109 l. 27. For "Ingeel" read "Ingeél."

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

Ann. Camb. . Annales Cambriae, ed. J. W. Ab Ithel (Rolls Series), 1860.

Ann. Clon. . . Annals of Clonmacnoise, translated into English A. D. 1627, by Conell Mageoghagan, ed. Rev. D. Murphy, Dublin, 1896.

Ann. Tig. . . . Annals of Tigernach, edited and translated by Whitley Stokes, Revue Celtique, XVI—XVII, 1895—1897.

A. U. . . . . Annals of Ulster, vol. I ed. W. M. Hennessy, Dublin, 1887, vols. II and III, ed. B. MacCarthy, ib. 1893, 1895.

Arch. Camb. . . Archaeologia Cambrensis.

BBC. . . . . Black Book of Carmarthen, ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllheli, 1906.

BK. Tal. . . . Book of Taliessin, Facsimile and Text, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Llanbedrog, 1910.

Brit. SS. . . . British Saints, Baring Gould and Fisher, published for the Cymmrodorion, 4 vols., 1907—1913.

B. T. . . . . Brut y Tywysogion, ed. J. W. Ab Ithel (Rolls Series), 1860.

F. M. . . . . Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, ed. J. O'Donovan, vols. I—VII, Dublin, 1848—1851.

M. A. . . . . Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales, 2nd edn. Denbigh, 1870.

Nenn. Vind. . . Nennius Vindicatus, H. Zimmer, Berlin, 1893.

R. C. . . . . Revue Celtique.

R. B. . . . . Red Book of Hergest, ed J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1887.

TBC. . . . . Táin Bó Cualnge, ed. E. Windisch, Leipzig, 1905.

Trans. Cymm. . Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

W. B. . . . . White Book Mabinogion, ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllheli, 1907.

Z. für C. Ph. . . Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie.

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